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ABSTRACT

This collection of conference papers describes the post-World War II relationship between Germany and Minnesota. The relationship with the Federal Republic of West Germany is emphasized but East Germany is not ignored. The papers include: "Current Issues in German-American Relations" (P. Hermes); "The Cult of Talent and Genius: A German Specialty" (F. R. Stern with R. W. Franklin); "West Germany: Economic Power--Political Power" (L. J. Rippley); "The Image of the German in Contemporary Minnesota" (G. H. Weiss); "Cultural Exchange, Germany-Minnesota: A Case Study in Education" (N. Benzel); "The German Theological and Liturgical Influence in Minnesota: St. John's Abbey and the Liturgical Revival" (R. W. Franklin); "The German Impact on Modernism in Art" (M. Waldfogel); "German Rationalism in Modern American Architecture" (G. Dittmar); "Issues in German-American Trade and Investment" (D. Hamilton). Also included are Appendix A: "The Post-World War II German Immigration to Minnesota: The Documented Story of Norbert Benzel" (C. A. Glasrud); Appendix B: "German Companies with a Minnesota Subsidiary"; Appendix C: "Minnesota Companies with Significant Trade in Germany"; and Appendix D: "The Broader German/Swiss-American Relationship and Business in Minnesota." The document concludes with an index and photo index. (APG)

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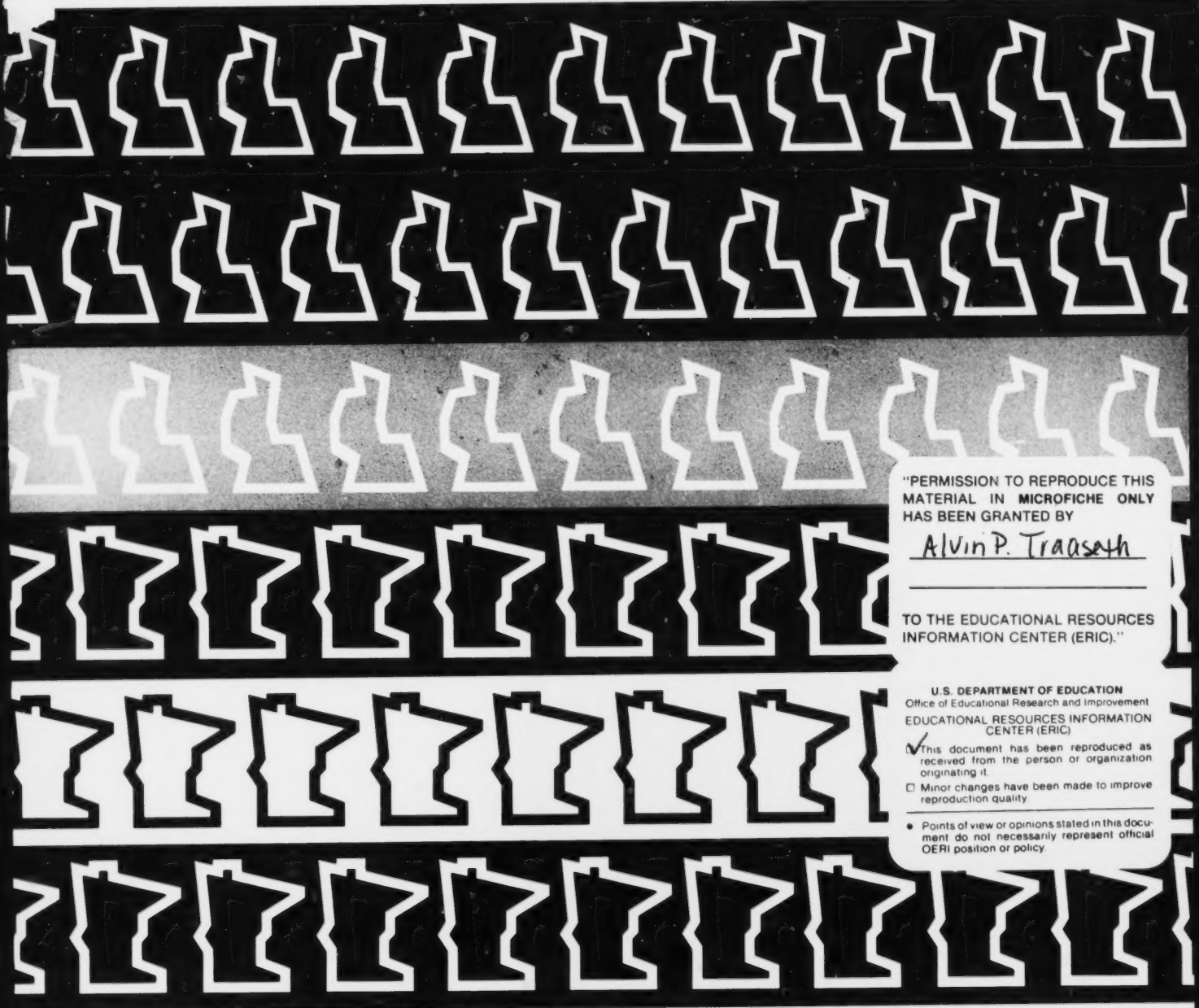
A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP:

GERMANY AND MINNESOTA, 1945-1985



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BRÜCKEN ÜBER GRENZEN: MINNESOTA UND BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND, 1945-1985

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A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP: GERMANY AND MINNESOTA, 1945-1985

BRÜCKEN ÜBER GRENZEN: MINNESOTA UND BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND, 1945-1985

Edited by Clarence A. Glasrud

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SPECIAL THANKS

A special thanks to Lutheran Brotherhood for publishing this volume and to the Minnesota Humanities Commission, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Minnesota State Legislature for funding the conference which generated the papers.

Papers in this volume were written for a Conference, A Special Relationship: Germany and Minnesota, 1945-1985, held in Minneapolis on April 22, 1982.

Preface by Odell M. Bjerkness and Christian Skjervold, Co-directors of the Conference.

A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP: GERMANY AND MINNESOTA, 1945-1985

BRÜCKEN ÜBER GRENZEN: MINNESOTA UND BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND, 1945-1985

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Preface

"A Special Relationship" was the third conference in a series on the German experience in the United States. These conferences were developed by the International Language Village Program of Concordia College in Moorhead, Minnesota with the generous support of the Minnesota Humanities Commission. Several other organizations throughout the State of Minnesota provided encouragement to these undertakings through co-sponsorship.*

It was the aim of the 1982 conference to bring to the attention of a broad population the important relationships which have existed and continue to exist between Minnesota and the German-speaking areas of Europe - as evidenced by people, trade, economics, art, architecture, religion, and culture. Each of the presentations focused on different aspects of the "special relationship"which has existed between Minnesota and Germany during the post-war era, with futuristic projections to the mid 1980's.

The conference brought together the academic and business community in an examination of the topics under consideration, with an opportunity for audience participation. The audience was comprised of lay and professional people who brought various backgrounds to the discussions. High school and college students tested their perceptions of "the Germans," some of them gained from hours of viewing Sgt. Schultz and Kpt. Klink on television, against the realities of education and the Bauhaus. Others tested perceptions gained from life experiences through two World Wars, with their subsequent hardships, against the economic development of a divided Germany within a divided Europe.

During the April 1982 symposium the conference planners posed for a picture with the German ambassador. From left to right: Norbert Benzel; Dr. Von Siegfried, German Counsul-General in Chicago; Dr. Hermes shaking hands with Odell Bjerkness; Bernard E. Conlin, President of the Minnesota World Trade Council; Christian Skjervold; and Dan Hamilton.

As already mentioned, this "special relationship" conference was the third in a series. The first two (held in 1979), opened for broad discussion the role which German-Americans have played in the history of Minnesota. One of the first two meetings was held in the Red River Valley, at Concordia College in Moorhead; the second was in the Twin Cities, at the Landmark Center in St. Paul. At these presentations a number of important aspects of the German-American immigration story were raised for consideration.

Flanking Dr. Hermes and holding "The World of Friendship Medallion" presented to the Ambassador, are Mr. Arley Bjella, Chairman of the Board of Lutheran Brotherhood (left) and Dr. Paul Dovre, President of Concordia College.

Largest Minnesota Ethnic Group

Germans and German-speakers are the largest single ethnic group in Minnesota. Statistics show that as recently as 1970 approximately 8.3% of the State's population still spoke German as their mother tongue. More significantly, approximately 58% of those who use German as their tongue were born of parents who were also born in the United States. Census data reports nativity only to the second generation; and since the Germans were among the earliest settlers in the state, it is difficult to arrive at the size of the German ethnic group today. Various estimates have place the German heritage figure at between 20-35% of Minnesota's 3.8 million population. If one uses the mother tongue figure of 8.3% for language use, the inference may be drawn that Germans have retained their language more than most groups in the State.

One would hardly be aware of Germans in Minnesota if one were to judge the state by its reputation as a Scandinavian stronghold. There are many causes for the misconceptions about the role which Germans have played in the development of Minnesota. German-Americans have often been held hostage by events on the national and world stage over which they had no control. These events have, it is fair to say, helped to submerge the legitimate ethnic identity of this very significant group.

Today we assume that German-Americans have been merged into the homogenized mainstream of American life. Their language has for the most part become American English, and the values of people of German descent have become the values of middle America. Little thought has been given to the reservoir of cultural and linguistic retention within the community. A further implication lies in the concept that perhaps much of what we perceive as middle American culture can be traced to those immigrant values and identities which came to Minnesota with various groups - and among these, the Germans.

Aim at Contemporary Period

As a result of topics covered in the two previous conferences, it was determined that there was a genuine interest in pursuing the German-American experience to a more contemporary period. Since we would be dealing with a time closer to our own present reality, it was deemed necessary to explore the effect which modern Germany also has upon the German-American experience. We needed to examine the relationships present which exist between the United States and Germany. The social, educational, and cultural ties are many and varied, and there was evidence that the relationships existed on very practical levels as well - for example, in business and industry.

Concordia College, through its International Language Village Program, has had a long-standing interest in and commitment to programs which foster international understanding. At Waldsee (the German Language Village, which had its first camp in the summer of 1961), American students are introduced to the German language through contact with teachers and native speakers of German. In the 1970's an additional impetus to an exploration of Minnesota's German heritage was provided by *Die Wandertour* (a mobile language experience), which took students on a 500-mile tour through areas of significant German heritage in Minnesota. This innovation provided the greatest spur to the Language Village interest in the "deferred heritage." When the curriculum was being prepared for the bicycle langugage-culture tour, it was found that even though many areas of Minnesota are known as German, the "Germanness" was often ill defined.

A further impetus has been provided by the development and funding of an Institute for German Studies. Concordia College's *Institut fur deutsch Studien* was (one of 26) selected to receive

Schwartzwald Haus, International Language Villages, Bemidji, MN. This newest facility at Waldsee Village, donated by Edward and Beverly Fish of Minneapolis, was occupied for program purposes in 1982.

a $45,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Only one other foreign language program was awarded a grant.

The first of its kind anywhere, the Institute is a total-immersion educational program in German for academic credit at the college level. Offered during the academic year at the Schwarzwald-Haus at Concordia's International Language Villages near Bemidji, Minnesota, the Institute will open in the fall of 1983. The twin goals of language fluency and cultural understanding will be reached through experience-based learning. Students will acquire a fluency and command of German that no other program offers, virtually completing a German major within a nine-month period.

Formal instruction is only a part of the Institute program. The total-immersion approach makes the time students spend outside the class important to the achievement of their goal: *Sprachkompetenz im Deutschen* (fluency in German).

Planning Body Continues Work

The success of the first two conferences, the commitment to innovative language instruction, and the apparent interest in further exploration of topics relating to German-American issues led to the continuance of a planning body to develop resources for "A Special Relationship." Throughout the fall and winter of 1981, planning went on which involved representatives of many groups and organizations. As a result of this planning, a proposal was submitted to the Minnesota Humanities Commission for their consideration.

Since the conference would deal with special relationships, it was decided to include very contemporary relationships, which included economic and business contacts. For this reason, it was decided to have concurrent presentations: one group described areas in the traditional humanities mold; the other sessions concentrated on business and industry. The focus remained on Minnesota in both sections, each complementing the other.

The resulting proposal was accepted by the Minnesota Humanities Commission, and this publication is a compendium of academic papers and summaries of discussions presented at the Sheraton-Ritz Hotel in Minneapolis on April 22, 1982. The publication of these proceedings is made possible through the Lutheran Brotherhood and the Minnesota Humanities Commission.

Ambassador Hermes addressing the German-American conference at the Sheraton-Ritz Hotel on April 22, 1982.

* The Germany and Minnesota conference was sponsored by the International Language Villages and Department of German of Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota, in conjunction with the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, German Consulate in Minneapolis, International Institute of Minnesota, Minnesota Chapter of American Association of Teachers of German, Minnesota Project on Ethnic America, Minnesota World Trade Council, Volkfest Association of America, and World Affairs Center of the University of Minnesota.

Members of the planning committee were Odell Bjerkness; Christian Skjervold; Dr. LaVern Rippley; Dan Hamilton, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations; Willard Moore, former associate director, Minnesota Folklife Center, Minneapolis; Mrs. Gisela Knoblauch, German Consulate in Minneapolis; Dr. Bill Rogers, World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota; Bernard E. Conlin, First Bank, Minneapolis; and Michael E. Murphy, Faegne and Benson of Minneapolis.

Christian K. Skjervold
Odell M. Bjerkness
Conference Co-directors

8

Introduction

In more ways than one, *A Special Relationship* is a sequel to *A Heritage Deferred: the German-Americans in Minnesota*, published in 1981. That volume published the proceedings of two conferences held in October 1979 — on the Concordia College campus in Moorhead and at the Landmark Center in St. Paul. The two conferences were intended "to give an overview of problems unique to the German-American experience."

The articles published in *A Heritage Deferred* dealt with the past or with vestiges of the past. They explored nearly every important aspect of German immigration to the United States. Because Minnesota was settled in the second half of the nineteenth century, most of the papers were concerned with elements of the German immigration in that century. Religions, political, educational, linguistic, and cultural aspects were considered.

It is true that the first section of the 1981 volume, "The Ethnic Experience," gave considerable attention to the present situation of German-American throughout the United States, especially in Minnesota. Nevertheless, the emphasis was nearly always on the past, or the way in which the past has created the present situation for German-Americans. *A Heritage Deferred* is primarily an immigration story.

A Special Relationship is an account of the present situation. In telling the story of a many-faceted involvement of Minnesota people, businesses, and institutions with present-day Germany, the past could not be ignored — but it is never the major thrust of the papers in this collection. The complex problems of ethnicity are considered in some of these papers, but from the point of view of the present, not the past. Unlike the 1981 volume, the present collection gives a good deal of attention to Germany as it is today. In so far as possible, only Germany-after-Hitler is considered; and although Communist East Germany is not ignored, the "special relationship" is with the Federal Republic of West Germany.

On April 22, 1982, a third German-American conference was held at the Sheraton-Ritz Hotel in Minneapolis. Billed as "A one-day event for the academic and business communities," this conference had a more international and cosmopolitan aura than the 1979 sessions. The dinner and luncheon speakers were the German Ambassador to the United States and the Provost of Columbia University.

Concluding German-American Conference Planned

A concluding German-American conference is scheduled for September 28, 1983 at the Landmark Center in St. Paul. This fourth conference — or third, if the two *Heritage Deferred* conferences of 1979 are considered one entity — will be entitled *A Heritage Fulfilled.* Plans for the 1983 sessions were well along in the early spring of this year when the papers comprising the present book were being readied for the printer.

The 1982 conference which provided the substance for this book was divided into humanities and business sections in the afternoon meetings. There was, however, a good deal of crossing over and intermixing throughout the conference. Most evident was the presence of business people in the scholarly presentations that would ordinarily be made to purely academic audiences. The result was an unusual atmosphere pervading the sessions, which may be reflected in some of the printed papers. There is, indeed, a little repetition as a result, for several of the speakers alluded to the phenomena responsible for the remarkable recovery of Germany since World War II.

Some of the "humanities" papers were clearly aimed at audiences beyond the academic world. The title of Professor Rippley's article, "West GErmany: Economic Power - Political Power," reveals such an intention. "Eco-politics, the Germans have proven, is far more effective than geo-politics," said Rippley, and added that his is "a lesson that the United States and Minnesota have not yet learned." He pointed out that the Germans learned their lesson well: that by becoming a great trading nation they could reach a pinnacle and importance that Adolf Hitler failed

Uprising on 17 June 1953 in East Berlin. Photo: Demonstrators throwing stones at Soviet tanks in Potsdam Square (German Information Center).

to achieve through military aggression and the sacrifice of millions of lives. Rippley's recounting of the way "The Germany Miracle" came about (following a devastating military defeat) provides American readers with much to wonder at, to admire, and possibly to emulate.

The resurgence of German vitality and power in business and industry — and the factors involved in this process — are inescapably present in the Germany Ambassador's assessment of his nation's recent history and present situation. These matters also come into Dan Hamilton's summary of the panel discussions on German-American trade and investment. If this theme is repeated, it is because it is central to the conference. Whenever the miraculous German recovery is mentioned, so also is the close cooperation — the Special Relationship — that has developed between Germany and the United States, even more specifically between the Federal Republic and the State of Minnesota.

What is the German Image?

Professor Gerhard Weiss' article is the closest link between the present book and *A Heritage Deferred*. In "The Image of the Germans in Contemporary Minnesota" Weiss provides a devastating and amusing refutation of "the typical German," the *gemütliche* German, and other generalizations and sterotypes that obstruct real understanding of German lands and peoples, past and present. The investigations behind this paper were extensive and far-reaching, from studies of newspaper handling of German news to Sinclair Lewis' dialogue in *Main Street*. But Professor Weiss also used his own experience in writing the paper; his introduction into the American army soon after he came to the United States in 1946, and years of dealing with University of Minnesota students.

To risk a generalization in speaking of a paper that questions the credibility of all such summary statements, Weiss found that most negative connotations of "Germanness" have passed out of the consciousness of Minnesotans — but so have practically all Old World ties. As several of the writers in *A Heritage Deferred* pointed out, the million Minnesotans of German ancestry had only vague information about their grandparents' European origins. Even though they retained their native language more faithfully than most immigrants, into the second and third generations in some families of German-Americans, "for most ethnic Germans their roots in the homeland have been lost long ago, or were deliberately cut during World War I." (Weiss)

Weiss alludes only briefly to the lingering resentments among older German-Americans who remembered the persecutions of World War I. No matter how painful and unfair the process, the Old World ties were broken, and Minnesotans finally realized that German-Americans were as fully American as any of them. "Even the rise of the Nazis had surprisingly little effect on the German image in the state," says Weiss. "The new Germany of the Weimar Republic had very little impact on the view of the Germans in the Middle West." Minnesota German-Americans were in no way held responsible for what was going on in Germany. Consequently, "When World War II broke out, Minnesotans remained quite level-headed, and popular opinion never returned to the follies of the First World War."

It is a new Minnesota population that Weiss is primarily concerned about. Whether or not they have German blood or bear German names, our present generation has a good-natured liking for "the jolly fairytale German" (as much a stereotype as the Cigar Store Indian), for Heritagefests, for *Gemütlichkeits*-Days, and of course for *Oktoberfest* celebrations. Weiss ends his wide-ranging study with a 1982 informal survey of University of Minnesota students. The findings he reports are both amusing and revealing. Many exasperating stereotypes persist, he concludes, but closer contacts and better information are improving the situation. Finally, "The image of the Germans in Minnesota is, we can say with confidence, a very positive one."

Cultural Exchange Since World War II

Professor Norbert Benzel used his personal experience as an immigrant from Germany to Minnesota after World War II in writing "Cultural Exchange, Germany-Minnesota: A Case Study in Education." A refugee from Pomerania in East Germany, he entered a teacher training college in Bavaria in 1946; through a teacher who had spent some months studying the American public school system, Benzel made contact with Minnesota teachers and students. An extensive cultural interchange eventually led him to emigrate — with the help of students at Patrick Henry High School (in Minneapolis) and Hamline University in St. Paul. Since 1963 he has taught German at Concordia, the past sixteen years as chairman of his department.

Midway in his paper Benzel writes: "My involvement in foreign language teaching on the high school, junior college, and university levels has confirmed in me the strong conviction that the most effective way to understand cultural manifestations of any kind in other parts of the world is through the mastery of a foreign tongue." He uses statistics to trace a discouraging decline in foreign language requirements in American school, but Benzel also offers evidence that innovations in language teaching can reverse the trend. His paper concludes with a resumé of the agencies working to make the teaching of German more vital and cultural exchange more effective, once again citing his own experiences, both in Germany and Minnesota.

Benzel's experience in establishing American contacts and coming to the United States with their help is documented in his "Post World War II Immigration Record." This meticulously-kept account, included in the present volume as Appendix A, was not a part of the conference held in Minneapolis in 1982. It does, however, relate to Professor Benzel's paper on cultural exchange between Germany and Minnesota, which was the most personal of the conference papers. This reproduction of documents is another "case study" that relates to the central topic of the conference, "A Special Relationship: Germany and Minnesota, 1945-1985." Three of the participants in the conference — Benzel, Gunter Dittmar, and Gerhard Weiss — immigrated to the United States (and to Minnesota) from German lands after World War II.

Theological and Liturgical Influence

R.W. Franklin's "The German Theological and Liturgical Influence in Minnesota: St. John's Abbey and the Liturgical Revival" will surprise nearly every reader. Beginning his paper with the new emphasis on communal worship after Vatican II, Franklin traces the influence of the two Benedictine abbeys of Beuron and Maria Laach on German Catholic liturgy and church building. Ninety years ago these influences were extended to St. John's Abbey at Collegeville, Minnesota; and early in this century the Liturgical Press at St. John's began making an impact on American Roman Catholic churches.

"In the 1920's the abbey church at St. John's was redecorated following Beuronese concepts of liturical art," writes Franklin, but this was only a beginning of a powerful German artistic influence. Nine buildings have been constructed at St. John's University and Abbey by the distinguished architect Marcel Breuer in the last quarter century — the high point the great abbey church completed in 1961. "In the construction of this church Germany made its final contribution to St. John's, and through St. John's to American ecclesiastical architecture generally." Breuer had studied under Walter Gropius at Weimar and embodied Bauhaus concepts "to provide a great open space where the corporate worship of monks and laity could take place." The international influence of Breuer's radically new design is placed in context by Franklin's concluding statement: "But the emergence of this great church was merely the final achievement of one hundred years of adaptation of German ideas in theology, liturgy, and architecture which had been taking place successfully in central Minnesota."

German Rationalism in Modern American Architecture

Gropius is one of the four "Great Masters of Modern Architecture" that Professor Gunter Dittmar credits with revolutionizing style and construction in the Twentieth Century. Another of the four, Mies van der Rohe, was also of German origin. In his "German Rationalism in Modern American Architecture" Dittmar takes us through a survey of the new style which "was created as a deliberate, radical break" with the past. "The formation and development of Modern Architecture was shared equally between the United States and Europe," says Dittmar. A pattern emerged: America taking the first step, Europe "defining the theoretical foundations expressed," and the United States then applying these ideas to new construction.

Dittmar concedes that German participation in this process was short-lived, but argues that the German *Werkbund* played a crucial role in formulating the ideas from which the new architecture derived its forms. "The influence of the Bauhaus on our lives will never be fully determined: the legacy of its ideas continues. Much more than a school, it stood for a whole new school of thought that totally changed the world of art, architecture, and industrial production."

In his overview of the European-American interchange of ideas that have determined the main direction of architecture in our time, Professor Dittmar does not attempt to focus on Minnesota. There are Minnesota connections, however; the IDS Center in Minneapolis, which "has given the city a new symbol and its downtown area a new identity," was designed by Philip Johnson, "currently the most prominent American architect and early admirer, disciple, and later associate of Mies van der Rohe."

Currents in the Pictoral Arts

Professor Melvin Waldfogel begins and ends his "The German Impact on Modernism in Art with specific disclaimers: there is scant evidence of any "special relationship between contemporary Germany and Minnesota in painting and the related arts"; "the relationship. . .in the pictorial arts is much more a matter of heritage and history than of present interaction." Like other scholars, Waldfogel prefers to view evidence of any relationship from a broadly American-German point of view and plays down purely local, Minnesota connections. (Professor Rippley goes farther: "To the German man-on-the-street in Europe, Minnesota is a non-entity. . .If today a Minnesotan finds himself in Germany and is asked where he is from, his best answer is 'Chicago'. . .")

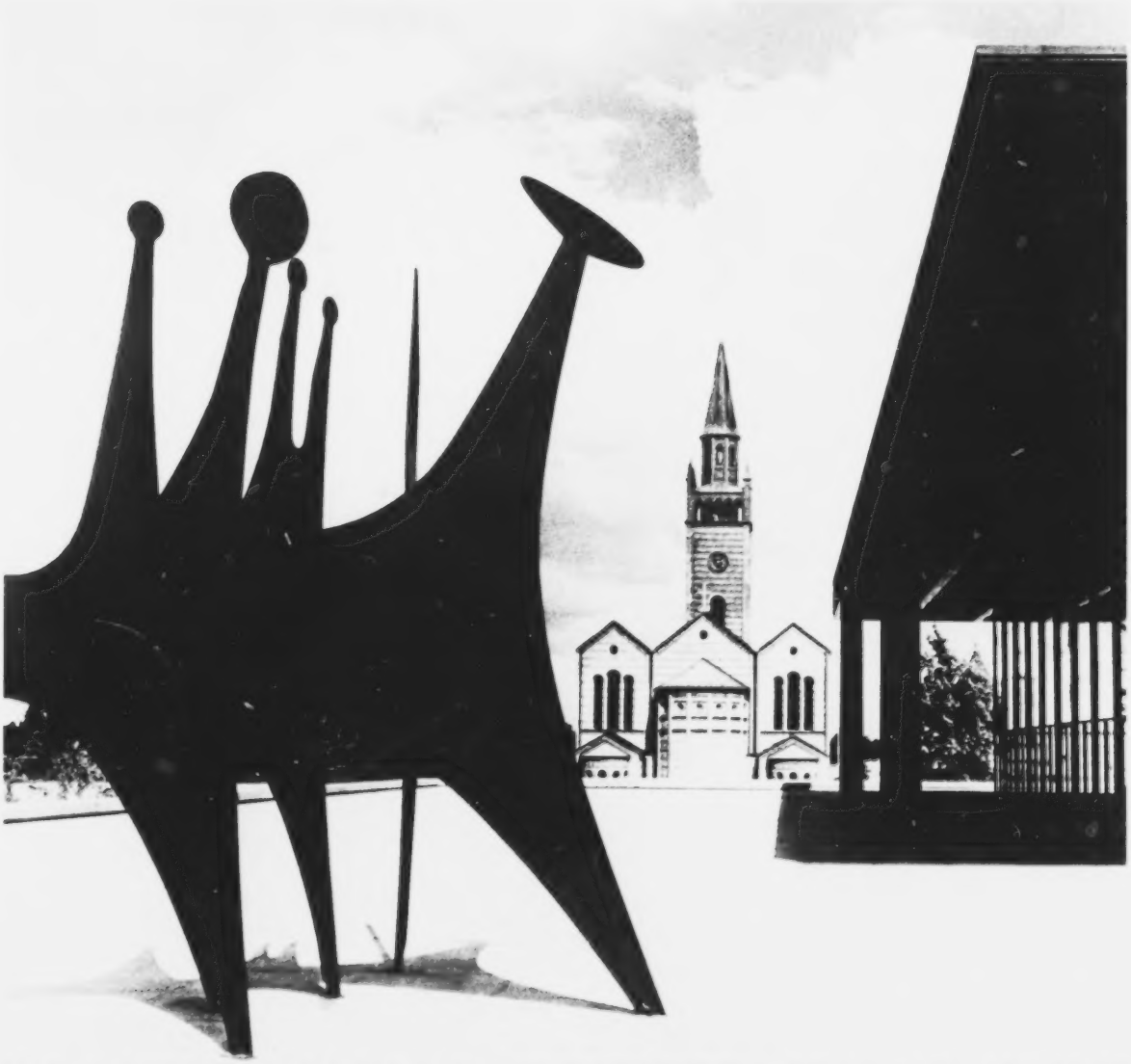
Waldfogel does two things, essentially. He writes: "Repercussions of earlier German art have been felt and have had a demonstrable influence, both on artists practicing here and on the public's perception of art." The Art Academy at Düsseldorf in the German Ruhr drew as many aspiring American art students as Paris in the mid-nineteenth century, and a little later other such students were converted to the new European realism in Munich. Henry Lewis and Eastman Johnson — both connected with Minnesota through their work — studied in Düsseldorf, as did George Caleb Binham, the famous painter of American frontier life. And Robert Koehler of Milwaukee, who spent fifteen years studying in Munich, was appointed director of the Minneapolis School of Art when he returned to the United States.

The sceond major point in Waldfogel's study concerns the long-delayed recognition of German Expressionism in this century. Modern German art was largely ignored and consequently unknown in the United States from 1900 to 1950, Waldfogel says, adding that "the status of modern German art was even less favorable in Germany and access to it virtually impossible" because the Nazi regime found it "non-Germanic, culturally cancerous." In the United States a change of attitude toward German art began in 1950. Waldfogel speculates that the ascendency of abstract expressionism at mid-century may have been responsible, for "Expressionism has long been regarded as an inherent quality of German art." Here he discerns Minnesota involve-

ment: the University of Minnesota galley had an exhibition entitled *German Expressionism in Art* in 1951 and the Walker Art Center presented *Expressionism, 1900-1955* four years later.

The flight of many artists from Nazi Germany to the United States was a considerable factor in the change of attitude toward German art, of course. In 1980 the Minneapolis Institute of Art was responsible for a kind of culmination in this turnabout, and a demonstration that Minnesota might indeed have a special relationship with Germany. "*Germany Realism of the Twenties*. . .provided the American public with its first comprehensive survey of the painting produced during the Weimer Republic. New York critics came out to see the show, among them Hilton Kramer, who reported on the exhibition favorable in a lengthy article in the *New York Times*."

In *A Heritage Deferred* it seemed necessary for the editor to provide an overview or capsule-history of German immigration to the United States, which began just 300 years ago when a group of German Mennonites came to William Penn's new Quaker colony. This history described a part, the German part, of a major American historical episode: the filling up of Central North America during the nineteenth century. The influx of European immigrants to the rapidly-expanding new American nation has been called the greatest migration the world has ever seen. The purpose of the capsule history was to identify the German role in that huge movement-of-peoples and thus provide a backdrop for the papers which dealt with special aspects of that immigration. Such an introduction is not needed for *A Special Relationship*.



The new National Art Gallery in Berlin was designed by Mies van der Rohe. This photograph shows a side of the gallery, an Alexander Calder sculpture, and between them St. Matthauskirche (German Information Center.)

Ambassador's Speech Serves as Introduction

The "Remarks" by German Ambassador Dr. Peter Hermes provides an excellent overview of the present situation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the nature of the special relationship that exists between Germany and the United States. Ambassador Hermes entered the diplomatic service after nine years in the German army, five of those years as a Soviet prisoner of war. His studies in law and political science before and after World War II could have taken him into an academic career if he had not chosen to serve his country as a diplomat. His speech was an admirable one for the conference on the "Special Relationship," and it serves well as an introduction to this general topic.

The Ambassador began his speech with a brief look at the past. More than six million Germans came to the United States from 1820 to 1920, and the German ingredients in the American melting pot can easily be seen in American place names. On the other hand, "The two bloodiest foreign wars fought by the United States have been against Germany and her allies." Furthermore, "In both these wars, America's participation sealed Germany's defeat." But the German people, said the Ambassador, were also aware that "the United States played the key role in helping Germany to get back on her feet" after World War I, and thirty years later, "only a few years after the ending of World War II, contempt for the defeated enemy Germany rapidly gave way to understanding."

With the onset of the Cold War in Europe, the West Germans "integrated themselves solidly into the Western political system," said Dr. Hermes, and they adhere firmly to this stance while longing for German re-unification. He did not gloss over German-American differences, and he discussed candidly the ingredients that made for tensions between our two nations; but "the necessity for a continued firm bond of cooperation between our two countries is well understood on both sides of the Atlantic."

As a part of his explanation of Germany's political situation, the Ambassador analyzed the European peace movement and its component groups; only the "Marxist fringe groups," much the smallest faction, "constitute an anti-American element." The problems of nuclear weapons pose special problems, he conceded. "The concept of war as such is a particularly uncomfortable and even disgusting concept for all Germans who have lived through two World Wars in this century. Nuclear weapons and the concept of war-fighting are approached it seems to me, in somewhat different ways in this country, as compared to Germany." Hermes wondered, "Do Americans understand this? Do they understand that this peace movement is not a fundamentally anti-American movement?"

At two points in his speech the Ambassador emphasized a central point. "Our embodiment in the Western Alliance, our close ties with the United States are an unwritten second constitution of our land. Anybody who does not recognize that does not really know the political reality of post-war Germany." At the end of his remarks a task is outlined: "to pass on to the younger generations on both sides of the Atlantic the basic fact that we share a common heritage and the common values of Western Civilization."

The learned but complex address by Dr. Fritz Stern at the noon luncheon of the Minneapolis conference cannot be included in this collection of articles. As Provost of Columbia Univeristy, Dr. Stern is one of this nation's leading college administrators, but he has earned distinction primarily as a college professor and the author (and editor) of notable historical works. He is Seth Low Professor of History at Columbia, a prestigious endowed chair. His Minneapolis address, entitled "The Cult of Talent and Genius: A German Specialty," bears a relationship to some of his published works, but Professor Stern was not ready to release this paper for publication.

A brief summary of the Stern address, prepared from memory and a knowledge of his published historical studies, was prepared for this collection by Dr. R.W. Franklin. Stern's books include: *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); *The Failure of Illiberalism: Essays in the Political Culture of Modern Germany* (New York: Knopf, 1972); *Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichröder and the Building of the German Empire* (New York: Knopf, 1977); and (edited) *The Varieties of History, from Voltaire to the Present* (New York: Meridian Books, 1977).

Business Panel Discussion Summarized

The most difficult task for the conference and for this collection was how to incorporate the business section. Everyone agrees that the great European-American success story of our time has been the post-World War II economic recovery of Germany. Closely related to this phenomenon has been the German-American trade involvement, and the business-industry ties between Germany and Minnesota form "a special relationship" in various ways. But businessmen who participate in a panel discussion are not likely to prepare publishable papers. Our solution in this publication is a compromise, an account of what

The reconstructed Reichstag in Berlin (West) — (German Information Center).

was said in the business section meetings without reporting the actual words and phrases of the panelists. Dan Hamilton's article is a fair summation of the panel discussion entitled "Issues in German-American Trade and Investment."

In addition to Hamilton's summary, Appendix D is the prepared remarks of one of the three panelists, Wolfgang Ebert, Group Administrator of the Buhler-Maig Corporation Minneapolis. Mr. Ebert traces the history, scope, and recent expansion of his company. Of special interest to all readers is Ebert's account of his company's experience and the special problems of a large multi-national corporation operating in the United States. Minnesotans, of course, will pay special attention to the factors that determined Buhler-Maig's selection of Minnesota for the headquarters of their operations in the United States.

All three of the panelists were born in Germany but spoke English as fluently and impeccably as a native American — despite their very German names! The three young men also represented different aspects of the German-American business-industry involvement. Wolf Brueckmann is director of West European affairs for the United States Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C. Bernd von Arnim is senior vice

Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer and French President de Gaulle at mass together at Rheims Cathedral on 8 July 1962, a noteworthy document of the reconciliation of two peoples (German Information Center).

The people of West Berlin give American President John F. Kennedy an enthusiastic reception during his visit on 26 June 1963 (German Information Center).

president and head of the German desk of the Deutsch Bank, European-American Bank in New York City.

In the placement of the six academic papers that make up the body of this colleciton, Professor Rippley's article appears first. The reason: although it is an academic paper, Rippley focuses on the great factor in the new "special relationship" between Germany and Minnesota — actually the whole United States in a larger sense. Appendices B and C are off-shoots of LaVern Rippley's paper, "West Germany: Economic Power — Political Power." Most of the dozen German-owned companies with Minnesota subsidiaries are mentioned in Rippley's article, but we are left to our own devices in facing the long list of Minnesota companies that engage in significant trade with Germany. We are free to speculate about the nature of that business.

All of the conference participants have been helpful in preparing their papers for publication, especially in the onerous task of gathering illustrative material. I am especially grateful to Teri Thorsen, Debbie Feldman, Gwen Watson, Edna Schock, and Dee Ann Krugler of the May Seminar-Languages Villages offices at Concordia College for their help; and to Delores Kruger of the Humanities Office and Dorothy Zimney of the English Office at Moorhead State University — who spent many of their spare hours this past year helping me prepare this material for publication.

Clarence A. Glasrud
Professor Emeritus
Moorhead State University

Current Issues in German-American Relations

His Excellency Dr. Peter Hermes

It is a pleasure for me to be here with you today and to participate in this remarkable conference. I would like to begin my remarks tonight with an expression of appreciation to the organizers of this conference, particularly to Odell Bjerkness. If this conference has been a complete success — and I for one feel that —, this is due to the efforts which you, Professor Bjerkness, and your associates have made in bringing us all together here in Minneapolis for a discussion of the relationship between the United States and Germany, and more specificially the German role in Minnesota.

Tonight, at the end of this conference, I am reminded of Winston Churchill, who once remarked that it should be the purpose of a good speech to exhaust the subject and not the audience. As it seems to me that the subject which we are dealing with here has already been pretty much exhausted, I will, in order to prevent exhaustion of the audience, limit my remarks to some general reflections on the nature of this "special relationship" between my country and yours, and on the nature of some of the problems which exist in this relationship today.

To begin with, let me say how heartening it is for me, as the German Ambassador to the United States, to participate in an event devoted to German-American relations as such, rather than discussions limited to such topics as "The German Disconnection," "The German Malaise," or "The Western Mis-alliance," to quote just a few fashionable headlines of recent vintage. More often than not, it seems to me, the rich tradition and the vast resources of the German-American relationship are being overlooked today in the context of recurrent perceptions of trans-Atlantic discord. How rich this tradition is, and how fitting it is to reflect upon this tradition here in Minnesota where, according to figures which I heard earlier today, one third of the population can claim German heritage, making the German group the largest single ethnic group in the State of Minnesota.

Peak Immigration from 1820 - 1920

Within the one hundred years between the 1820's and the 1920's, more than six million German immigrants came to the New World. Until the middle of the 19th century, it was mostly artisans and small farmers from the southern German states who decided to try their luck in America. Entire communities in Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and Baden sold their homes and property, travelled — in fact, many of them walked — across France to Le Havre and went aboard ships bound for the United States. Up until 1835 there were about 50,000 of those immigrants; in the following 10 years, already 200,000; and as early as 1854, 200,000 came in a single year. The peak figure was achieved in 1882, when 500,000 (or more than two thirds) of the 700,000 immigrants who came to the United States during that year came from German-speaking countries.

Today we are reminded of this enormous influx of Germans here in Minnesota, but also in many other states, by the names given by the Germans to their settlements. At the end of the 19th century, the German author Karl Goethe has given us the following description of how to travel from Hanover to Hamburg without ever leaving the state of Ohio: "After leaving Hanover, 40 minutes south of Cincinnati, you travel one hour by car. That takes you to Oldenburg. There you will find a sign directing you to Hamburg, which you will reach within seven minutes. By way of Elsass, you then — without leaving Ohio — go through Munster and Neubayern and arrive at the Hanover settlement, where there are 208 families, the grandchildren of German immigrants. Language spoken: German. Roads: good."

In this century the relationship between Germany and the United States has been complex, vacillating from excellent to nations at war. The two bloodiest foreign wars fought by the United States have been against Germany and its allies. In both these wars America's participation sealed Germany's defeat. On the other hand, after World War I the United States played the key role in helping Germany to get back on her feet, and even to revise some of the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

The American Ambassador to Berlin, Jacob Gould Schurman, said in 1927: "Never in our history have the political institutions and international ideals of Germany and the United States

been as much in agreement as they are today. Both nations believe in government of the people, by the people, and through the people." And then again, only a few years after the end of World War II, contempt for the defeated enemy Germany rapidly gave way to understanding.

Close Friendship for 35 Years

The Germans became friendly hosts for hundreds of thousands of American soldiers who experienced German culture and language. As the Cold War set in across Europe, the Germans became allies, close allies, and within only a few years they integrated themselves solidly into the Western political system. Today we can look back on 35 years of an unprecedented stable and close friendship, a friendship which goes deeper than anything required by Cold War diplomacy or by defense strategy.

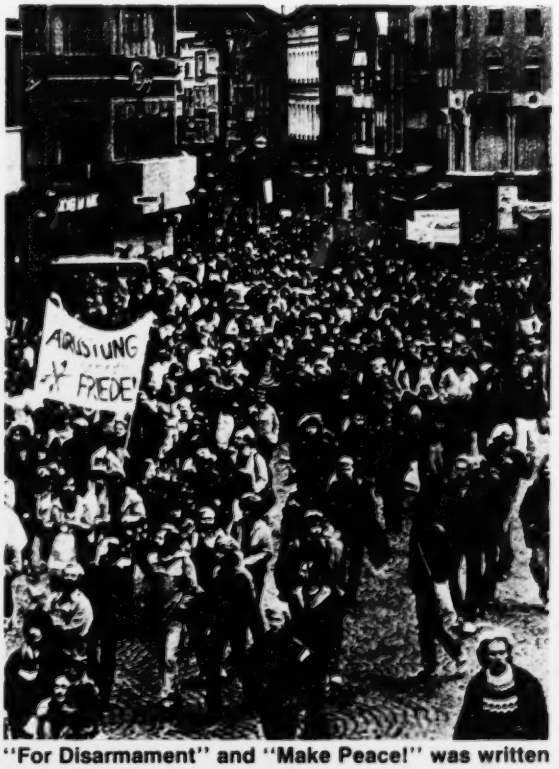
After more than three decades of close cooperation, it is — in my view — not an overstatement to say that there has developed a special relationship between the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany. The necessity for a continued firm bond of cooperation between our two countries is well understood on both sides of the Atlantic. In a statement made by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt on the Federal Republic's Foreign and Security Policy on 31 March, 1982, our friendship with the United States ranked first amoung our primary policy goals, even before our goal of attaining European unity, and before the special role of German-French cooperation. The Chancellor specifically said that this order of priorities is supported by a consensus of a large majority of Germans today. And in spite of reports in the media to the contrary, and in spite of everything you and I have seen and heard about so-called anti-American demonstrations, about neutralism, about pacifism in Europe, the Chancellor's assertion is borne out by the facts. According to a recent poll conducted by *Newsweek International,* three out of four Germans have a favorable opinion of the United States, compared to only one out of every two Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Belgians, to give just a few examples. Or, in response to the question: "How much confidence do you have in the United States to deal wisely with world problems?", a much higher percentage of Germans gave a positive reaction than British, French, Italian, or Belgian participants in this poll. In short, and I want to make this point with great emphasis here tonight, there is — in my view — no basis in reality for the claim that we are drifting apart, and there is a growing gap between Germany and the United States, that our relationship is in a crisis.

The government quarter in Bonn. To the left on the banks of the Rhine the German Bundestag and behind it the parliamentary office building (German Information Center).

A demonstration against nuclear weapons in Bonn on April 4, 1981. Fifteen thousand people marched through the city to the Munsterplatz, where this rally was held (the sign reads "yes to negotiation"). Thirty different organizations joined in the demonstration, which resulted in no disturbance and no interference from the police. The occasion that prompted the rally was the 29th session of the Nuclear Planning Group of NATO being held in Bonn (German Information Center).

Peace Demonstrations Explained

But what then, I am sure you will ask me, is behind the peace demonstrations in Europe and the newspaper reports which speak of dissonance and of drifting apart? How to correctly interpret the present political reality? The reality of 1982 is that some segments of European society are not on precisely the same wave length as the United States of 1982, that there are different trends in political perceptions and differences of view on major international questions. As far as criticism in Europe of the United States is concerned, there appears to be, first of all, perception that the risk of East-West confrontation in Europe has been heightened rather than reduced by recent trends in the foreign policy of the United States. Secondly, there is a perception that the United States, in her policies vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, has tended to disregard specific European interests in maintaining the benefits derived from a policy of detente. And third, there are those in Europe — as there are those in this country — who have criticized the Administration for its policy on strategic arms control, in other words for not ratifying the Salt II Treaty and for taking such a long time to reopen strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union.



"For Disarmament" and "Make Peace!" was written on countless banners at the Bonn peace demonstration (German Information Center).

Politicians of all parties make an effort to carry on a dialogue with critical and rebellious students in the late sixties and early seventies. The photo shows Professor Ralf Dahrendort (FDP) during a discussion with student leader Rudi Dutschke (seated behind him) in 1968 (German Information Center).

On the other hand, there are also major points of criticism of German policy raised by Americans. There is a perception that the Germans are getting a free ride, that they are not adequately contributing to the common defense of the West. There is also a notion that Germany is conducting a profitable trade with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, thereby not only exposing itself to political blackmail from the Soviet Union but also indirectly contributing to a further Soviet military buildup. And third, there appears to be a perception that the Germans are pursuing a policy of accommodation vis-a-via the East, that the Germans are embarking on a vacillating course between East and West, trying to make the best of both worlds and maybe even developing a new inclination to pursue the goal of reunification of Germany at any cost.

Different Views of Soviet Behavior

All of these issues, can, I think, be pulled together. There exist today two different conceptions of the proper management of East-West relations, and of Soviet behavior. Both conceptions can be found to varying degrees in each country of the Western Alliance. The first view is what I would like to call the imperialist view of the Soviet system. This view describes the Soviet Union as a mix of power and ideology, radically different from Western society. According to this view, the West has no choice but to either endure a conflict or to practice perpetual harsh containment of the Communist Block.

The other view of Soviet behavior is what I would call the pragmatic view, which — without ignoring the totalitarian character of the Soviet system — places greater emphasis on the similarity between Soviet behavior and the behavior of other great imperialist powers in history. According to this view, a mix of competition and cooperation, of confrontation and negotiation, of containment and a search for agreements as a means to induce Moscow to behave in a more responsible way would be the proper policy.

The core of our present problem is that there seem to be more people today in Western Europe who subscribe to the latter veiw, and more Americans who subscribe to the former. The conflict between these two views, is, of course, nothing new at all, neither here nor in Europe. We have always had a debate between the proponents of a more bi-polar world approach, and a more complex view that sees East-West relations as only one aspect, and the East-West conflict itself as manageable through a wise pursuit of a mix of containment and detente policies.

On 17 August 1962 in an attempt to escape to the free western sector of Berlin, Peter Fechter was shot down and later carried away by GDR border guards (German Information Center).

The wall erected by the GDR on 13 August 1961 separates thousands of families in the divided city of Berlin. In the photo a couple who have just been married wave tearfully to their relatives in the Soviet Sector (German Information Center).

In May 1949 the Soviet Union reopened the land access route to Berlin. "Blockade ends, airlift wins" is announced on a sign at Rhine-Main Airport in Frankfurt, from where a steady stream of planes took off for Berlin for nearly twelve months (German Information Center).

East-West Relations Improve

What is emerging today is a perception in the United States that a decade of detente has had, by and large, only negative results, particularly as far as the strategic balance is concerned. At the same time, Europeans point to what they feel has been major progress in East-West relations in Europe. The stability of Berlin today, as compared to earlier post-war years, may serve as just one example in this context. To Germans with relatives in the East, to Berliners with close personal ties to the other side of the wall, these are highly valued improvements over the difficult situation of earlier years. For these Europeans it remains difficult to accept American arguments about the end of the detente era, even after the Polish military crack-down of 13 December, 1981. They point to the fact that Europe has enjoyed relative stability for over a decade now. The Soviet Union appears to them as a military giant, but one with clay feet — beset with domestic and economic difficulties and plagued by ailing and restive allies.

What we have before us, then, is a phenomenon which I can best describe as a lack of synchronization of political trends in our two countries. Today, as in the mid 60's, problems in our relationship arise because one partner holds on to an established policy which he continues to feel comfortable with while the other partner has come to the conclusion that the policy is no longer workable and needs major revision. Curiously enough, our respective positions in the mid 60's were more or less the opposite of what they are today: then, at a time when the United States and the Soviet Union had already decided to embark upon a course of detente, the Federal Republic of Germany rather stubbornly held on to policies adopted and proven useful in the days of the Cold War. In fact, the Federal Republic of Germany only belatedly and with some effort managed to jump aboard the East-West detente train in the 1960's/

Defense and Detente Established Policy

Today the reverse is true: as we hold on to defense and detente as the established policy of the Alliance since 1967, the United States feels compelled to abandon this course in favor of a more comprehensive effort to contain Soviet expansionism. This lack of harmonization and coordination of political trends in our two countries is, politically speaking, particularly troublesome because our two countries are so closely tied to each other.

Americans, I think, have not always been sufficiently aware of the fact that the Germans are part of the constituency of the United States' President, certainly as far as the common defense is concerned but also as far as economic and monetary decisions are concerned. It has been suggested, and I think it is a fact, that our close relationship with the United States is in reality nothing less than a second and unwritten constitution of the Federal Republic. It is something that is taken for granted and regarded as an essential precondition of our continued existence in peace and security.

From this flows, of course, that the United States government and the United States Congress should, in approaching major foreign policy decisions, not consider only the interests of their constituents in Utah or in Minnesota; Washington should be aware of potential repercussions in Europe, particularly in Germany. Of course, this would always be a difficult political act, even if we had perfectly harmonized political trends in our two countries, but because of the phenomenon I described to you above the problem has been compounded. I am not sure there is any clear-cut solution to this problem, but I have been urging, and I will continue to urge American policy makers to take into account the potential impact on West Germany of whatever actions they are considering on this side of the Atlantic. This is particularly true in the defense area, where we continue to be dependent on the security umbrella provided by the United States. Last summer's blow-up about various statements regarding the question of limited nuclear war provides an excellent case in point.

Accurate Information Needed

One essential prerequisite for taking into account the European situation is of course an accurate knowledge of what is going on there. Let me say just a few words about what is happening in Germany today. First, it would be a terrible oversimplification to label our so-called peace movement a communist-inspired anti-American movement, just as erroneous as it would be to label those who are calling for a nuclear freeze in this country communist or communist-inspired. Behind the sometimes violent demonstrations in Germany is not the invisible hand of Moscow; of course, Moscow is exploiting the movement to the fullest, fueling it, and to some extent also funding it. But at the roots of this movement are genuine concerns. Do Americans understand this? Do they understand that this peace movement is not a fundamentally anti-American movement?

In reality, the membership of this peace movement is as varied as the background of individual members. First, there are those whom we might want to label pacifists, moralists, neutralists; these are citizens concerned about peace in the first place. The driving force behind the peace movement include Protestant church circles and, to a somewhat lesser extent, also Catholic church activists. They may lack some realism, and they may tend to embrace Utopian concepts of society; they may be infected by wishful thinking; but they are surely not Communist. A second group — in a certain way an offspring of the flower children movement in the United States of the 1960s — are the ecologists, opposed to the use of nuclear power, civilian or military, and opposed to technological progress as such. They would like to see a return to the simple life which Jean-Jacques Rousseau envisaged. They are anti-progress, but again, they are not necessarily anti-American. It is only the third group, the Marxist fringe people, which constitute an anti-American element. But that group is by far the smallest in the entire movement.

Crisis of Identity in Germany?

It has been hinted that in Germany (in particular), the general European mood of skepticism and pacifism is aggravated by a genuinely German crisis of identity, that the German people are about to throw away their alliance with the West in order to pursue the national goal of reunification — for which the Soviet Union is said to hold the clue. Nothing could be farther from reality than that. The ghost of Rapallo, the allegedly overwhelming and deeply-engrained German instinct of national unity and reunification, has been conjured up time and again. But let me say with emphasis: today — as throughout the last thirty years, throughout the lifetime of the Federal Republic of Germany — we know that we are part of the West. As I said earlier in these remarks, our embodiment in the Western Alliance and our close ties with the United States are an unwritten second constitution of our land. Anybody who does not recognize this does not really know the political reality of post-war Germany.

Final vote on the Basic Law in its third reading in the Parliamentary Council in Bonn on 8 May 1949. Theodor Heuss, later to become Federal President, is seated fourth from the left at the front row of tables (German Information Center).

Those who have studied the history of post-war Germany, or have studied it, are aware that practically all of our major policy decisions since the end of World War II have been made under great Soviet pressure, and directly against such Soviet pressure. That is true for the very establishment of the Federal Republic in 1949; it is also true for the mid-1950s when Konrad Adenauer, under enormous pressure from the East, decided to go ahead with German membership in the Western Alliance and the reestablishment of armed forces in the Federal Republic, the *Bundesehr*. That was also true a few years later when we and five other European countries founded the European Economic Community; again the Soviet Union did everything possible to thwart that plan. And today, as the Alliance goes ahead with the implementation of its 1979 dual track decision regarding intermediate nuclear forces in Europe, the Soviet Union has launched a new campaign of pressure and propaganda.

To us, therefore such Soviet attempts at influencing German foreign policy decision-making are nothing new; we have grown accustomed to them, and we have, I can say with a sense of satisfaction, managed to overcome such pressures quite well in the past. I see no reason why we should not also successfully manage the present challenge.

But speaking of nuclear weapons, let me offer you one additional thought on the difference in approach between Europe and America. The

Dr. Konrad Adenauer, born 5 January 1876, in the year of his election as Federal Chancellor (1949) — (German Information Center).

concept of war as such is a particularly uncomfortable and even disgusting concept for all the Germans who have lived through two World Wars in this century. Nuclear weapons and the concept of war-fighting are approached, it seems to me, in somewhat different way in this country and Germany.

Remember World War II Differently

Russell Baker observed in a recent *New York Times* column that in some American serial movies World War II appears to have actually been a lot of fun. He wrote, "World War II has almost become an indispensable theme of American entertainment." I have made similar observations watching American television, and it is astonishing to me that such an approach to war should persist in this country even after the agonizing national debate over Vietnam only a decade ago. Germans, on the other hand, cannot disassociate the memories of war from the horrors, the tragedy, and the crimes of World War II. In every German family war evokes memories of death, or the loss of members of one's own family, of suffering, and of hardship. Our German memories cannot, and they must not, evoke national pride and victory. In this sense our national memories of the same historic event differ rather fundamentally.

Having said all this, what should be done? What can we do to maintain our special relationship and make it even stronger in the future? Chancellor Schmidt, in a recent speech before the Bundestag, said: "But surely there is no doubt that Americans and Europeans are not identical twins with identical behavior at all times and all places. Rather, they are partners with shared ideals, with joint fundamental interests but also with very different views and interests in matters of detail. They are partners who time and again must seek coordination and are able to do so, because they are closely linked not only historically and politically and not only economically and militarily but by common value concepts of democracy, individual freedom and peace."

Our task, therefore, is to pass on to the younger generations on both sides of the Atlantic the basic fact that we share a common heritage and the common values of Western Civilization. We must not forget or permit others to forget the fact that the Alliance has guaranteed prosperity and democracy on both sides of the Atlantic during the past 31 years. But the perspective we must seek to restore is not necessarily that of the past. We are not seeking to re-awaken memories of the challenges faced thirty years ago. Instead, our task is to demonstrate anew the relevance of democracy to the new challenges of the 1980s. What we on both sides of the Atlantic ultimately share is not only a common interest in defense or even the strong economic ties which bind us together. Our main tie is the message of hope and progress provided by the democratic ideal. I am quite certain that young people on both sides of the Atlantic share many of the same hopes and aspirations.

Kurfurstendamm in West Berlin (German Information Center).

Tri-Centennial Celebration in 1983

Recently our two governments decided to restore perspective to German-American relations by naming coordinators for German-American relations — with the goal of enhancing awareness and understanding between our peoples, drawing on the rich tradition of the special German-American relationship. These efforts will concentrate primarily on younger people, but people in business, education, and journalism will also benefit from the efforts which our two governments are undertaking in this regard. One major objective of these activities will be the tricentennial of German immigration: October 6, 1983, will mark the 300th anniversary of the arrival in the United States of thirteen Mennonite families from Krefeld who founded Germantown, Pennsylvania. We are working with the United States government to organize a series of events throughout the United States during the entire year of 1983, and a special celebration in Philadelphia in October is planned as the capstone of this anniversary.

Promoting understanding between two nations is of course not solely the responsibility of diplomats or governments. The deepest and most productive types of understanding are developed through individuals and small groups, be they students, business executives, military officers, or any groups of individuals in our two countries with similar or parallel interests or professions. This conference today is, it seems to me, a wonderful example of such initiatives.

I would like to conclude my remarks tonight by repeating my gratitude to all of your here: the organizers, the speakers, and the participants in this conference on the special relationship between Germany and America.

Thank you very much indeed.

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Fritz R. Stern, "The Cult of Talent and Genius: A German Specialty."

Summary of the paper by R.W. Franklin

For many in Germany the French Revolution of 1789 and the wars and conflicts it spawned were objects of scorn. The primary target was modernity as embodied in the rational, liberal, and capitalistic society. This society was shaped on the continent in its political and cultural form by the French Revolution and the ideals and figure of Napoleon Bonaparte.

The figure of Napoleon inspired in Germany a number of negative reactions, but the figure of Napoleon also inspired in Germany, during the nineteenth century, a new cultivation of the self. At its best this veneration of Napoleon inspired the dedicated energy of a new generation of German scholars. At its worst the cult of talent and genius degenerated into a kind of cultural philistinism. This middle-class cultural philistinism, masking as the "cult of talent and genius," added a powerful rationalization to the already formidable barrier between the educated and the uneducated classes in Germany.

The nineteenth century cult of talent and genius led to an emphasis on and a strong development of the cultivation of *Innerlichkeit* or "inwardness." This new "inwardness" resulted in strong criticisms of the customary pedantic instruction which took place in the German schools and of mere "bookish" learning. It was said that traditional education completely starved the imagination. The new cult of talent and genius encouraged travel and self-education.

Germans influenced by the new cult of genius tended to glide away from traditional religion into unbelief. Basil Willey, an Englishman, described this aspect of the new cult of genius: "[It produced] the devout skeptic, the sage who rejects traditional religion not because he is shallow or immoral, but because he is too earnest to accept it - because he understands and tolerates all forms of religion too well to adopt any one of them."

West Germany: Economic Power — Political Power

by LaVern J. Rippley

Introduction

"When it comes to social progress and political efficiency, the modern state and the modern entrepreneur should not be antagonists but instead should be spiritual relatives." These words were spoken by then Chancellor Willy Brandt to the German Chambers of Commerce meeting in Bonn in February, 1971.[1] His successor in office, Helmut Schmidt, continued actively courting his spiritual brothers in business. By means of a policy of "Wirtschaft, Wirtschaft uber alles," the Germans between 1945 and 1982 have acquired the *Lebensraum* (the living space) that eluded them in two world wars. Their restless energies, their world-size ambitions, and their talent for hard work have brought them not only a tramping ground that is European but markets that are global — and an importance in world politics that Adolf Hitler offered the lives of millions to acquire. West Germany today is the number two trading nation of the world and is affluent beyond the wildest dreams of anyone who lived in the two *Reichs* of the 20th century. And it owns the *Deutsche Mark*, the world reserve currency that is second only to the dollar. West Germany in 1982 is indeed the Fourth and Richest *Reich*. Even East Germany, when compared to other nations in the Eastern bloc, would qualify for partnership in this, the fourth and richest *Reich*

Addressing the 437th annual meeting of the Bremen shipowners in February, 1982, Karl Otto Pohl, President of the German Bundesbank, explained that West Germany's economy can only be fueled by exports.[2] Germany needs but does not have North Sea oil. In fact Germany by itself has scarcely any oil at all. In order to buy it from the Middle East with a currency denominated in dollars, Germany must export industrial goods. Luckily, West Germany is the number one industrial exporter in the world, far exceeding its competitors, the United States and Japan. This need to export and the capability for industrial production are what generated an economic miracle in the 1950s. In the words of Sebastian Hafner writing in the *London Observer*, "It seems as if the German capacity for excellence, shifting from field to field, has now, after a succession of music, scholarship, and soldiering, settled on industry."[3]

Soviet Communist Party Chairman Leonid Brezhnev visiting the Federal Republic of Germany for the first time on 18 May 1973. To the right Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt and to the left Mrs. Brandt (German Information Center).

Industry-Labor

The success which Germany has achieved as an exporter of industrial goods is predicated upon a remarkable marriage between the captains of industry and of labor. Unlike England and other industrialized nations, Germany did not face the rise of the trade union movement until late in the 19th century. However, within a relatively short time German labor leaders achieved great success. When Samuel Gompers (President of the American Federation of Labor), visited the Ruhr in 1909, he reported that the German worker delivered "the greatest production, the highest general intelligence, and the best reasons for hope for his class that the history of the world has ever recorded."[4] Devastated by the horrendous inflation of the *Reichsmark* in 1922-23, however, the decimated trade union movement was easily abolished by its deadly enemy, Adolf Hitler, after he came to power in 1933. Following World War II, leaders of the trade union movement successfully organized a single body of workers for each

of the major industries and grouped all of them under one umbrella federation, the *Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund* (DGB). Officially launched in Munich in 1949, the DGB agreed during the 1950s that it would not strike any manufacturer that was plowing back most of its profits into reconstruction and modernization, thereby increasing the company's productivity, sales and jobs.

This cooperative attitude on the part of labor and management resulted in a triumph for *Mitbestimmung*, co-determination of industry by management and workers as equal partners. Begun under Hans Boeckler, the right to co-determination did not become law until 1951, when Boeckler's contemporary, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (both men were born in 1876), forced the union leader into a compromise whereby the unions would cease all talk about the nationalization of industry in exchange for co-determination in running it.[5] Since 1951 the *Aufsichtsrat* (board of directors) of each company is made up of equal membership of trade unions and owners, plus a neutral chairman who casts a deciding vote in cases of a deadlock. With the achievement of *Mitbestimmung*, the German trade unions lost their traditional socialistic ideology. Overnight, job security came to be seen by the workers as possible only if the company remained healthy. Labor representatives realize that if a firm's sales are lost to competition because industry is forced to pay too much for wages, then not only will the workers be laid off but the labor-representatives on the *Aufsichtsrat* will be attacked and replaced. Following a few minor adjustments, German labor and management have coexisted in amicable fashion ever since co-determination became the law of the land in 1951.

Karl Otto Pohl (West Germany's equivalent of the U.S. Federal Reserve's Paul Volcker), pointed out early in 1982 that the primary cost factor for industry is *not* raw materials but wages. Demand for labor in an industrial society is dependent on how much it costs. Today, therefore, those countries with the highest productivity — that is, the greatest labor efficiency — are the countries with the lowest unemployment. Conversely, nations struggling with the lowest productivity have the highest unemployment.[6]

It follows that Germany today has become the world's leading industrial exporter only because the nation has an efficient and cooperative management-and-labor team. Reflecting this achievement quite formidably in the German economy is the labor-owned business conglomerate, West Germany's largest, *die Beteiligungsschaft fur Gemeinwirtschaft*, A.G. (BGAG). Among its holdings are the gigantic *Bank fur Gemeinwirtschaft*, the *Co-op zentrale*, an enormous retailing chain, several life insurance companies, many printing agencies, a number of computer branches, advertising agencies, and the *Neue Heimat*, West Germany's largest single real estate proprietor. Coordinated under their super union, *Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund* (DGB), the German trade unions today come to the bargaining table as co-equals with management. They have sinuous economic muscle but also a strong interest in maintaining a healthy German industry. The unions cooperate because they have high financial stakes in the West German economy. Good labor-management relations produce financial success.

Trade Brings Interdependence

According to the official *Statistisches Bundesamt* (bureau of statistics) in Bonn, West Germany in 1981 achieved another new record for world exports.[7] Whereas trade worldwide decreased by 1% in 1981, West Germany's exports increased by 6½%, due in part to the increase in value of the dollar and the slight devaluation of the mark, which made German goods more competitive. Heading the list of exports were heavy machinery, followed by transportation vehicles, chemical products, and electronic equipment. Hobbled by a dollar overvalued by high interest rates, the United States currently suffers because it is the mirror image of Germany. Exports are falling drastically while imports are climbing steeply. More fundamental is the problem of excessively high U.S. labor costs, compounded by falling labor productivity.[8] The United States can take comfort only in being a self-contained economy: much of what is needed can be found within our borders and a lot of what is produced can be consumed by our own population. Only for strategic materials is the United States absolutely dependent on other nations. Even energy is sufficient if the huge reserves of coal are considered as a substitute for oil.

Germany enjoys no such advantage. While the country has coal reserves, it is dependent upon foreign nations for both oil and natural gas. This fact of life lies at the very foundation of West Germany's foreign policy, which can be summed up in one word: interdependence. The present example of this is the so-called "deal of the century": West Germany will construct a gigantic pipeline from Siberia in the Soviet Union to Germany and Western Europe; West Germany will supply the technology and build the line, which will be paid for with supplies of natural gas delivered over the coming decades. Presidents Carter and Reagan have opposed the "deal" because they do not want West Germany to become dependent on the Soviet Union: the Kremlin might be tempted to use blackmail in a future crisis.[9]

On 25 March 1957 the treaties establishing the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Community are signed in Rome. From left to right: P.H. Spaak, J.H. Snoy, d'Oppuers (Belgium), C. Pinau, M. Faure (France), K. Adenauer, W. Hallstein (Federal Republic of Germany), A. Segni, C. Martino (Italy), J. Bech, L. Schaus (Luxemburg), J. Luns, J. Linthorst Homan (Netherlands) —(German Information Center).

"Dependence is a Two-Way Street"

The West German concept of interdependence views the problem quite differently. The Soviets are unable to develop their energy resources on their own, let alone deliver it in pipelines, due to a lack of technology. If the Soviets do not expand their energy supplies, the Germans argue, they are the more likely someday to embark on conquest in the Middle East. Moreover, the Soviets need Western currency in order to purchase industrial goods, factory equipment, and agricultural products from the United States. Dependence is a two-way street. Currently the U.S supplies 80% of the grain trade with Eastern Bloc nations while Western Europe supplies 80% of their industrial goods. In the view of West Germans, interdependence is the best means to overcome Soviet colonialism. In a word, the Germans do not regard security and cooperation as opposites but as poles on the same magnet: they complement each other. A global division of labor holds the best chance for peace. The best prospect for political stability rests on international coopeartion, not on confrontation.

All of this leads to our formulation that economic power results in political power. The only known chance for a peaceful world is mutual interdependence: cooperation on the basis of sharing in the world's wealth and using the world's resources — not for arms but for a better standard of living. Only when our lives are interlinked beyond national borders can the nations of the earth hope for security and peace. Communications between peoples, therefore, can occur best in an economic framework. Seen in this perspective, international business becomes the language of cooperation, the means for coexistence in our limited world.

Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Walter Scheel receiving Soviet Communist Party Chairman Leonid Brezhnev in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bonn (19 May 1973) — (German Information Center).

Two Economic Miracles

Let us lap back in time about 100 years. In the course of a century, Germany has experienced not one, but two economic miracles. The first was

contemporaneous with the 1867 publication of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*. Following the unification of Germany in 1870 and throughout the decades until World War I, the first German economic miracle generated gigantic wealth for the Germans and enormous influence for Germany in Europe and in the rest of the world. Marx and his theories were entirely repudiated by this German experience. Marxist ideology therefore migrated elsewhere, notably to Russia, where it was fully legitimated in 1917. With economic power comes political power. Between 1870 and 1914, most would agree, Germany acquired wealth so rapidly that it was on the one hand embarrassed and on the other thrust into a role of political leadership which it was unable to master.[10]

Defeated in World War I, horrendously overburdened by a demand for reparations in 1919, stripped of some of its most valuable natural resources by the Versailles Treaty, and forbidden to accumulate capital, Germany and the German mark in 1922-23 succumbed to the worst inflation in recorded history. Further, when Germany defaulted on reparations in 1923, the French occupied the Ruhr, Germany's only remaining coal and iron complex. Financially strapped, the Berlin government resorted to madly multiplying paper money (night and day 133 plants with 1,783 presses cranked out ever-more-worthless paper money.)[11] It was a good time for tycoons and for those with stupendous debts: anyone who had borrowed with abandon could now repay with indiscretion. Those who lost everything were thrifty, cautious, virtuous middle-class people who had been seduced into saving their money for the proverbial rainy day. Overnight their hard-earned German marks turned into worthless paper. In April, 1921 the Reichsmark was officially worth 4.20 marks to the dollar, though it changed at 62 to the dollar. By January, 1923, however, its value had sunk to 40,000 to the dollar and slid downard with ever-accelerating speed: in July 200,000 to the dollar, in August five million, in September 100 million, and in October 4.2 trillion marks to the dollar. Profligacy had been instantaneously rewarded; prudence had been permanently penalized; roaring inflation had made ridiculous Germany's first experiement with republican government and foreordained its demise in 1933.

Bulwark Against Inflation

In 1945, when Germans stared at the prospect of a democracy once more, responsible Western nations as well as German leaders knew the new government's chances were poor if the *Reichsmark* and its concommittant black market were allowed to continue. Not until 1948, however, was

On the day of the currency reform, 20 June 1948, every citizen in the three western zones was able to trade in forty marks in the old currency for forty new German marks (DM) — (German Information Center).

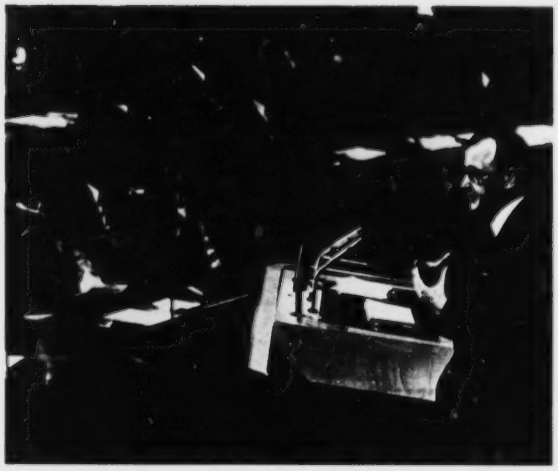
it possible to implement the *Deutsche Mark*, which within two decades achieved the status of the world's number two currency.[12] On June 20, 1948, it was announced that in the face of a booming black market and a total lack of confidence in the old *Reichsmark*, a new currency had been instituted. As of that date all currency, savings, time, and demand deposits were exchanged at a ratio of 10 RM = 1 DM (that is, ten of the old *Reichsmarks* for one new *Deutsche Mark*). Since 70% of all accounts were blocked, the effect was an actual conversion ratio of 100 RM for 6.5 DM. Moreover, an upper limit of 10 billion DM was the maximum authorized: thus the money supply was shrunk radically, thereby ruling out the possibility of inflation.

Almost as quickly as the inflation of 1923 had devasted the middle class, the currency reform of 1948 created a new one. Prosperity had arrived for the Germans, and the rest of the world gazed stupefied at their *Wirtschaftswunder*. So successful was the recovery, in fact, that a sense of guilt welled up in many Germans. An uneasy feeling gripped the Germans that they were not suffering enough to make amends for their crimes in World War II.[13] Opportunities for fruitful new beginnings were missed, according to some pundits. The restoration was too easy in the minds of some, totally wrong, in the opinion of others. Because a brave new world had not been created, materialism — coupled with a pervasive cultural pessimism — drifted over the West German intelligentsia and continues today.[14]

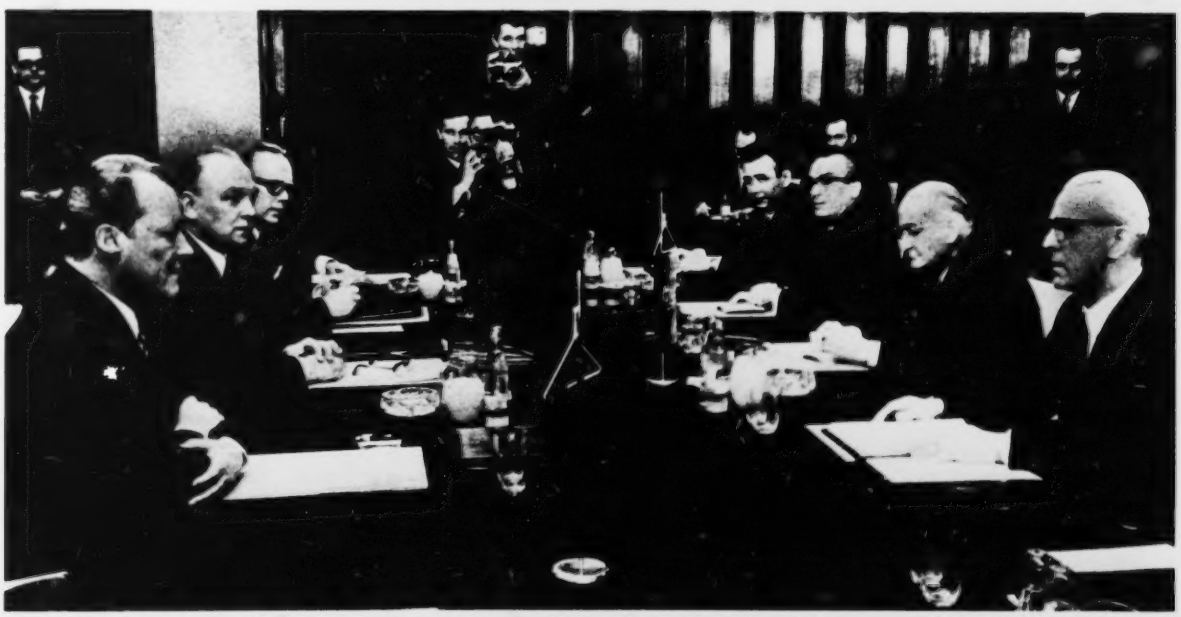
East German Economy Important

The intellectuals notwithstanding, West Germany is thriving economically, and as an exporter of machinery and manufactured goods remains unexcelled.[15] The German Democratic Republic, or East Germany, is another world. The GDR is not, however, an unimportant economy as far as Minnesota is concerned. During 1980, the latest year for which statistics are available, the GDR bought $534 million worth of U.S. agricultural products (some through third countries), an increase of $164 million over the previous year. Corn made up over two-thirds of the imports; soybeans, wheat, barley, hides, fresh lemons, and cotton fibers made up the balance.[16] Corn sales in particular have been beneficial for Minnesota farmers. The value of non-agricultural imports from the GDR was $44 million. Although Minnesota businessmen, like other Americans, lack the underpinnings of the Export-Import Bank in dealing with the GDR, trade with that nation has quadrupled since diplomatic relations were established late in 1974. In its recently announced five-year plan, the GDR targeted an annual purchase of from 1.5 to 2 million metric tons of U.S. grain, mainly feed grains. These prospects are positive for Minnesota, as are potential sales in the field of microelectronics — another stated area of intended GDR imports.[17]

Although the total U.S. trade with the Federal Republic of West Germany is much larger than with the GDR, Minnesota does not share as much in it because of the lack of agricultural products in the mix. The United States was, however, the third-ranking supplier of goods to the FGR in 1981, totalling $8.6 billion, while the FGR supplied the United States with $9.3 billion. As noted previously, West Germany always has larger exports than imports, with the result that the FGR enjoys massive trade surpluses. Apart from agricultural exports to the FGR as well as to the GDR, the U.S. — and therefore Minnesota, because of its product mix — profits from a German market for computers, electronic testing equipment, medical devices, industrial controls, hotel and restaurant equipment, as well as some toys, games and footwear. Minnesota gains nothing from the sizeable U.S. export of coal to the FGR.[18]



Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher speaking before the UN General Assembly in New York (26 September 1978). Afterwards he took part in a meeting of the Security Council (German Information Center).



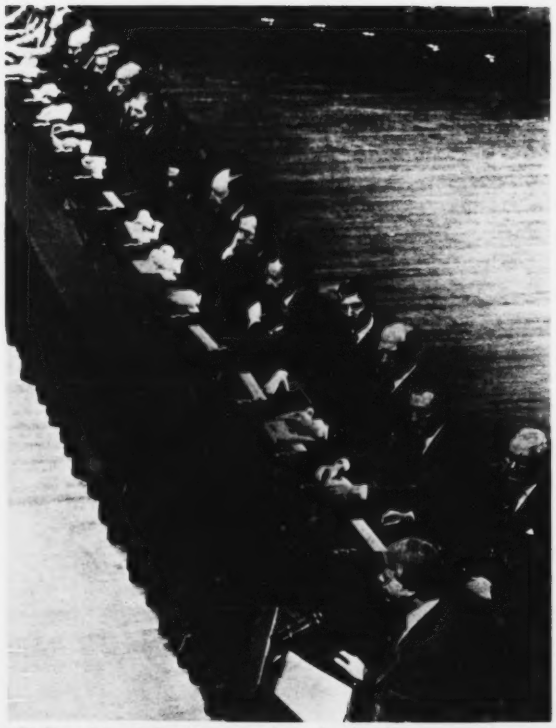
Initial step in the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR, the meeting between Federal Chancellor Brandt (left foreground) and GDR Chairman of the Council of Ministers Stoph (right foreground) in Erfurt (19 March 1970) — (German Information Center).

Minnesota and Germany

Minnesota business in the 1980s only faintly reminds the casual observer of the strongly Germanic texture it displayed for nearly a century, from 1850 to 1950.[19] Then many businesses and industries, bankers and shopkeepers were openly and avowedly German. The state's population then made it beneficial for certain product lines if management catered to German tastes. For decades Germans predominated over all other non-native groups, and when finally surpassed by the Scandinavians collectively, the Germans nevertheless remained the most numerous single immigrant element. Even today, according to the U.S. Census of 1970 (the 1980 results are not yet available), the foreign stock population of Minnesota is still heavily German. Germans in Minnesota surpass any other country of origin by a substantial margin. In 1970 Minnesota's foreign stock population from Germany totaled 137,442 (21.3% of the total) followed by Sweden's 114,512 (17.9%), Norway's 114,221 (17.7%), and Poland's 26,931 (3.8%). I am excluding those from Canada and those in the category of "other European," who account for 7.6% and 4.9% respectively.[20] If we take place of birth rather than parentage as a determinant, there are more Minnesotans of Swedish than of German birth: Sweden 21,978, Germany 11,601, and Norway 9,800. On the basis of mother tongue usage of a non-English language, the Germans in Minnesota in 1970 totaled 316,054, followed by Swedish 156,841, Norwegians 105,317, Polish 39,951, Finnish 38,880 and Bohemians 25,531. In the United States the German language was the most commonly used non-English mother tongue for over a century; in 1970 for the first time German was superceded by Spanish. In Minnesota, however, there were only 13,941 mother-tongue speakers of Spanish in 1970 compared to the 316,000 speakers of German.

Twin Cities German Center

Geographically speaking the Germans in Minnesota have always been most heavily represented in the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. As a percentage of the total population, they constituted more than 40% of the total in 1880 only in Winona, Shakopee, and New Ulm, and exceeded 30% in Wabasha, St. Peter, Sleepy Eye, St. Cloud, Willmar, Le Sueur, and Glencoe. The "German belt" extends northwestward from Winona to St. Paul, down the Minnesota River Valley to New Ulm, and northwestward to and beyond St. Cloud.[21] On an absolute basis, from 1860 to 1930 Ramsey County (largely the city of St. Paul), consistently housed the most German-born and people of German stock.[22] In the peak year of 1905 Ramsey County had 16,672 German-born, Hennepin County (Minneapolis) 10,987, Stearns (St. Cloud) 5,876, Winona 4,105, and Brown (New Ulm) 3,374. By 1970 the figures for the outlying counties had plummeted to Brown 152, Winona 200, and Stearns 294; most of the German-born lived in the counties with larger cities, such as St. Louis (Duluth) 498, Dakota (on the sourthern edge of St. Paul) 522, and Anoka (on the northern arc of the Twin Cities) 369. In 1970 the only two counties with a substantial German-born population were the Twin Cities counties: Hennepin with 2,897 and Ramsey with 1,740. On the basis of native-born of foreign or mixed parentage in 1970, Hennepin also topped Ramsey with 19,945 Germans compared to St. Paul's 14,609. The "home" of the Germans in Minnesota, therefore, must be characterized as Hennepin County, and by extension the combined metropolitan areas of the Twin Cities. In 1970 Minneapolis was home to 24,597 mother-tongue speakers of German; St. Paul housed 26,119. Together the Twin Cities today provide homes for German professional and business people who dwell at the heart of their business activities. In Minnesota in 1970 there were 2,099 Germans with alien status, more than from any nation except Canada.[23] Most of them, it may be assumed, are



US President Carter opening the NATO summit conference in Washington (30 to 31 May 1978) — (German Information Center).

professional and management personnel in companies that are American-owned but do business with Germany, or in companies that are German-owned but are operating in Minnesota. A number of them are professional educators.

Meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Western European Union, chaired by Dr. Hildegard Hamm-Brucher, State Minister in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the absence of Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Bonn on 5 June 1978 (German Information Center).

German - Owned Companies

In Minnesota there are over 150 companies doing business directly with Germany (a list is provided in the appendix). Although some of these companies are scattered in Duluth, Winona, Red Wing, Owatonna and Pipestone, most are situated in the metropolitan area of the Twin Cities. Of greater interest, perhaps, are the German-owned companies that have chosen to locate in Minnesota. There are at least 22 of these. Except for Brown Printing in Waseca, all are "at home" in the greater Twin Cities area. (See the list in the appendix.)

From conversation and through correspondence with managers of these companies, several generalizations can be made regarding the experience of the German-owned companies. Most managers and their high level employees are aware of and identify positively with the Germanic peoples who settled Minnesota decades ago. The German managers enjoy the fact that Minnesotans generally like Germany and the Germans, that a great many Minnesotans have distant roots in Germany, and that Minnesotans recognize that Germany is a highly sophisticated, modern society. Most Germans working in Minnesota also positively identify with the annual seasons, even winter. Many have had experiences in the Southern states and prefer Minnesota.

Conversely, the German business managers are keenly aware of the negative effect which Minnesota generates by its oppressive tax structure. Because of taxes, the German businessmen avow, Minnesota has a minimum of German companies. Most have chosen to locate in New Jersey, in North and South Carolina, in Texas, in Florida and throughout the Sunbelt where the tax structure is less burdensome. Some located in Minnesota for a specific reason and have remained here but, as a result of recent tax pressures, are entertaining the possibility of moving elsewhere.

Re-located in Minnesota

Willi Zogg of Buhler-Miag, Inc. notes that as separate companies Buhler and Miag were both leading engineers and builders of grain mills throughout the world. When Buhler first came to the U.S. in 1930, it operated in New York, but chose to re-locate to Minneapolis to be near the major milling companies of the world. Today, it is no longer so important that the company stay in Minnesota, because its markets are all across the U.S., but it is satisfied by being able to attract qualified personnel in this area. Buhler has been in Minneapolis since 1957. Other companies, like Karl H. Reuter of Illbruck, U.S.A., are in Minnesota only because the founder originally purchased a company that was based in Minnesota and served customers mainly in Minnesota. Specializing in accoustical and window construction foams, this company now serves clients throughout the entire U.S. It is therefore unimportant whether it remains in Minneapolis or not.

Some German companies operate in Minnesota only because large multinationals decided a certain Minnesota unit was the best way to enter the U.S. marketplace. Such an example is the North American Life and Casualty Company, begun in 1896. Formerly owned by H.P. Skoglund (now deceased), the company, with its six billion dollars worth of life insurance in effect in 1979, represented the best means for Allians Versicherung of West Germany to enter the United States with a turn-key facility. A comparable case is the Henkel Company, which is a wholly-owned subsidiary of Henkel Chemical Corporation of Dusseldorf. Henkel is West Germany's largest producer of detergents and its fourth largest chemical company. Since 1960 Henkel has been accumulating chemical companies in the United States, and made one of its largest acquisitions when it purchased General Mills Chemicals, Inc. in 1977. Today the Henkel unit in Minneapolis has sales of over $500 million, about 10% of the total Henkel group. The attraction of Henkel to Minnesota was the existing research facility in northeast Minneapolis, which induced management to locate the company headquarters close by.[24]

High Corporate Tax Rate

Otto Bock Orthopedia industry of Duderstadt, West Germany, designs and manufactures components for external prosthetic devices. Some 25 years ago the company decided to locate in Minneapolis in order to import and sell products in the U.S. marketplace. The critical choice of locating in Minnesota came about because the right individual to handle the start-up operation happened to reside in Minneapolis. Otto Bock's corporate officers believe they would gain an economic advantage by moving to a state other than Minnesota, because of the punishing corporate tax rate here. Also, from the standpoint of central distribution, another state would offer advantages. Having been in Minnesota for 25 years, however, a satisfying torpor inhibits moving. If the situation worsens, Otto Bock will consider leaving Minnesota.[25]

Several of the German-owned corporations doing business in Minnesota are in the transportation business. Lufthansa German Airlines has its headquarters in the IDS Center but operates from the International Airport. In Minneapolis, Lufthansa has its largest non-passenger-freight connecting base in North America. The primary lure is freight forwarding, but it also seeks to attract passengers. Similarly, Kuehne and Nagle operate out of Air Cargo City on 24th Avenue South, next to the International Airport. Since its founding in Bremen, Germany, in 1980, this company has grown worldwide as a transport organization, with fourteen North American agencies, including Minneapolis.[26] One of the main attractions for the freight forwarders in Minneapolis is that the city is the nerve center for grain and agricultural products from Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin and the Dakotas.

The Schwing Corporation of Herne, Germany, is the parent of Schwing Amerika in St. Paul, which has gained renown for its concrete pumps, its pre-cast concrete products, and the technique of slipforming structures by continuous cement pouring. One of its proud achievements came in pumping hardrock concrete up more than 1,000 feet to construct the Texas Commerce Tower of Houston, in a position where no crane could reach.

From Krefeld in the lower Rhine district of Germany comes Industrial Fabrics Corporation, a subsidiary of Berseidag-Industrietextilien. The Company produces a wide range of screen, stencil and coated fabrics. According to Rolf. W. Muehlenhaus, vice president and general manager of the Minneapolis-based company, the branch originally was located in Minnesota to be near the milling industry. Since its product line has changed substantially from natural to artificial fibers, there is no longer any need for a specific location. However, the company feels that Minnesota provides sufficient human resources to offset the disadvantages of climate and taxes. "It may, however, be vital for us to re-evaluate this position in order to remain competitive in the market," according to Muehlenhaus.

Rely on Duluth Port

Brown Printing of Waseca, Minnesota, has been owned by Gruner and Jahr Printing of Hamburg, Germany, since its acquisition in 1979. Gruner and Jahr in turn is a subsidiary of the large

Fourth economic summit of the seven great Western industrial nations in Bonn (16 to 17 July 1978). The European Community was represented by the President of the European Commission Jenkins (far left). From left to right: Fukuda (Japan), Andreotti (Italy), Carter (USA), Schmidt (Federal Republic of Germany), Giscard d'Estaing (France), Callaghan (Great Britain), Trudeau (Canada) (German Information Center).

publishing house of Bertelsmann; its major center for printing is in the city of Itzehoe, a short distance north of Hamburg.

Many of the German-American firms rely in one way or another on the facilities of the international seaport Minnesota provides at Duluth.

Most managers of German-owned corporations report that their firms are in Minnesota in spite of a business climate that is not conducive to their operations. Minnesota does nothing to attract forign investments. However, its people constitute a reliable and productive labor supply.

Although the presence of several hundred Germans in these businesses and in the professions would be a large enough group for the formation of an inner circle for social purposes, none exists. Nor are the members of this German group much attracted to the older immigrant clubs and ethnic organizations that still thrive in the Twin Cities. Most contemporary German residents find the clubs entirely outdated, caught in a fossilized perception of a Germany that no longer exists. Most adjudge their compatriots of an earlier immigration as clinging to an image about Germany that is akin to the cliché which was created by the American media before and during World War II. The wives (and families) of today's German manager class sometimes miss ethnic German contacts and find it somewhat difficult to find employment. Seldom, however, do they or their husbands seek out other German nationals to satisfy their social needs.

To the German man-on-the-street in Europe, Minnesota is a non-entity. Although Minnesota with its 86,000 square miles of land surface is nearly as large as West Germany's 95,000 square miles, the two territories are light years apart. West Germany has 61 million people, Minnesota has only four million. If today a Minnesotan finds himself in Germany and is asked where he is from, his best answer is "Chicago," which is as commonplace to the German as is Berlin. The names Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth may draw blank stares. However, the Mayo Clinic has created for Rochester a place in German consciousness.

Conclusions

Germany, in contrast to Minnesota, is the number two trading nation in the world, close on the heels of the whole United States. Germany has also become the dominant, if not dominating, economic power on the Continent. It enjoys a position in the sphere of eco-politics that it has not sought but can scarcely renounce. Eco-politics in the period since 1945 has bequeathed to the Germans what the geo-politics of Kaiser Wilhelm II and Adolf Hitler longed for: an influence that stretches from the Atlantic to the Volga, from the Artic Circle to North Africa and around the globe. By means of commerce and trade, West Germany has achieved mutual relationships that are more secure and are likely to be more lasting than were ever dreamed of by the German immigrants of the pre-1939 period. Through business, Germans have established bridgeheads more durable and more beneficial than were thought possible by the German military in Europe, Russia and North Africa between 1939 and 1945. German chancellor Helmut Schmidt said recently: "For some years now our economic policy has simultaneously been our foreign policy."[27] Eco-politcs, the Germans have proven, is far more effective than geo-politics — a lesson that the United States and Minnesota have not yet learned. The United States is particularly clumsy in its support of military dictatorships. The state of Minnesota is especially punitive in its use of the taxing weapon. In an article about Germany's foreign aid program, James O'Donnell has written, "The intimate connection between German trade policy and German aid policy is that one finances the other."[28]

Whether the relationship is between Minnesota and Germany or between peoples all over the world, the most powerful language is the one that is never a foreign language. It is the mother tongue of all poeples: commerce and business. Not through weapons, not through political power, not by national wealth but through the pursuit of a good standard of living will humanity and the mutual interests of mankind ultimately be served.

LaVern J. Rippley's German ancestors immigrated from Donaueschingen, Baden in 1863. Arriving with the surname *Rieple*, they settled in Waumandee (Buffalo Co.), Wisconsin where the author was born in 1935. After receiving his M.A. at Kent State and before earning his Ph.D. at Ohio State University, Rippley studied at the University of Munich as a Fulbright Fellow. He taught two years in high school and three years at Ohio Wesleyan before accepting the chairmanship of the German Department at St. Olaf College in 1967 for a seven year stint. He is presently a professor of German at St. Olaf.

Rippley has authored, or translated and edited, seven books. The first was *The Columbus Germans* (Ohio: Männerchor, 1968), followed by *Of German Ways* (Minneapolis: Dillon, 1970); *Excursion Through America* by Nicolaus Mohr (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley, 1973); with Armand Bauer, *Russian-German Settlements in the United States* by Richard Sallet (Fargo: Institute for Regional Studies, 1974); *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976); with Heinz Kloss, *Research Possibilities in the German-American Field*, 1980; and *The Autobiography of Theodore F. Staub* (St. Paul: North Central Pub. Co., 1981). Rippley has just completed a book on the immigrant groups in Wisconsin which is in the process of publication by Twayne Press, a division of G.K. Hall in Boston.

During the past 20 years, Rippley has visited the German-speaking countries 22 times and in 1974 spent a sabbatical in Austria. The author of over 100 book reviews and some 95 articles, he enjoys lecturing on a variety of topics to school and community audiences.

Notes

[1]Quoted in Edwin Hartich, *The Fourth and Richest Reich: How the Germans Conquered the Postwar World* (New York: Macmillan, 1980), p. 238.

[2]*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb. 27, 1982, reprinted in English in *The German Tribune: A Weekly Review of the German Press*, Hamburg, March 14, 1982, p. 6. See also U.S. Embassy in Bonn, "Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States: Federal Republic of Germany," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, March, 1982), p. 7, and Harald Mahnke, "Expert Surplus: All-time High," *German Tribune*, May 16, 1982, p. 6 (translated from *Rheinische Post*, April 29, 1982).

[3]*London Observer*, August 24, 1960.

[4]Quoted from Barbara Tuchman, *The Proud Tower* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), p. 444.

[5]The first Law for Codetermination passed on Feb. 21, 1951. It was revised or expanded in 1956 and 1967. See "Mitbestimmung" in *Brockhaus Enzyklopadie* 12 (1971), pp. 625-628.

[6]Cf. *The German Tribune*, Mar. 14, 1982, p. 6, col. 4.

[7]*Die Zeit*, (Hamburg) Nr. 14, April 9, 1982, p. 12.

[8]Cf. "The Mighty Dollar Slams U.S. Trade," and "Why Reagan Could Be on Top at the Summit," *Business Week*, April 22, 1982, pp. 30-32.

[9]Theo Sommer, "Amerikas Knüppel. Washington verhärtet die Kritik am Erdgasgeschäft," *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, No. 10, March 12, 1982, p. 1. The contract signing for the "deal of the century" was reported by the *Deutsche Presse Agentur* (equivalent of the Associated Press) in November, 1981. Cf. *Kieler Nachrichten*, Nov. 21, 1981, and Jürgen Klotz, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Nov. 21, 1981, both of which are printed in English in the *German Tribune*, December 6, 1981, p. 6. See also the interview with Congressman Henry S. Reuss, "Jedes Land heuchelt manchmal," *Der Spiegel*, March 15, 1982, pp. 23-25, and "A Bid to Ease Europe's Dependence on Soviet Gas," *Business Week*, June 7, 1982, p. 50. Also Gerald F. Seib, "U.S. Policy and Russia's Gas Pipeline," editorial in *Wall Street Journal*, May 25, 1982, p. 18; "An Anti-U.S. Backlash over Russia's Pipeline," *Business Week*, July 5, 1982, p. 21; and "Europe Gets Ready to Strike Back," *Business Week* (July 19, 1982), pp. 50-51.

[10]A dated but perceptive book is *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revoluation* by Minnesota's most celebrated economist, Thorstein Veblen (New York: Viking Press, 1946).

[11]Among many good sources, see Gordon Craig, *The Germans* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1982), p. 122 ff.

[12]Concerning the founding period, see John H. Becker, *Priming the German Economy: American Occupational Policies* 1945-1948 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1971), and Henry C. Wallich, *Mainsprings of the German Revival* (New Haven: Yale Univeristy Press, 1955).

[13]Many postwar German writers reflect this view, perhaps most clearly Nobel Prize novelist Heinrich Böll. This sentiment pervades many members of the writers' organization, *Gruppe 47*, and persists in the current fascination of critics with leftist West German literature and with East German literature. See Robert C. Conrad, *Heinrich Böll* (Boston: Twayne, 1981).

[14]Among many possibilites, see Manfred Durzak, ed. *Die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart: Aspekte und Tendenzen* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclaim, 1971) and Reinhard Lettau, ed. *Die Gruppe 47: Bericht, Kritik, Polemik* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1967).

[15]According to U.S Department of Commerce International Trade Administration statistics for February, 1982 the Federal Republic of West Germany in 1975 had 20.1% of the world's manufactured exports, the United States 19.1%. In terms of value, West Germany accounted for $80 billion, the United States $71 billion. In terms of total world exports, however, the Federal Republic of Germany in 1980 accounted for 10.5% of the total, vs. 12% for the United States.

[16]American Embassy Berlin, "Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States," February 1982 (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce International Trade Administration, 1982), p. 9.

[17]Suzanne F. Porter, "German Democratic Republic: Five Year Plan Seeks Productivity Increase," *Business America: The Magazine of International Trade*, 5 (February 8, 1982), pp. 46-47. For further information contact Suzanne Porter, Eastern European Affairs Division, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

[18]Velizar Stanoyevitch, "Germany: Trade Again Most Buoyant Sector of the Economy," *Business America* (February 8, 1982), p. 8.

[19]See Clarence A. Glasrud, ed. *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota* (Moorhead, MN: Concordia College, 1979), and Hildegard Binder Johnson, "The Germans," in June Drenning Holmquist, ed. *The Chose Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981), pp. 153-184.

[20]U.S. Department of Commerce, *1970 Census of Population, Vol. I: Characteristics of the Population, Part 25: Minnesota* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), Tables 45, 49, 50, 60, 61, 138-144.

[21]See LaVern J. Rippley "Notes about the German Press in the Minnesota River Valley," *The Report, A Journal of German-American History* (Baltimore) 35 (1972), pp. 37-45.

[22]See the tables by H.B. Johnson, "The Germans," in *They Chose Minnesota*, pp. 158-159.

[23]There were, however, a total of 3,900 aliens from Asia, representing refugees from many countries in Southeast Asia. See the 1970 U.S. Census part 25, *Minnesota*, table 144. By 1980 there were some 21,500 Indochinese, including primarily Vietnamese, Hmong, Laotians, and Cambodians. See *They Chose Minnesota*, table p. 580.

[24]Letter to the author from Donald W. Carlson, President, Henkel Corporation of Minneapolis, March 30, 1982.

[25]Letter to the author from Jack Hendrickson, Otto Bock Orthopedic Industry Inc., United States of America, March 31, 1982.

[26]Interview with Hans U. Iwen, Branch Manager, Kuehne and Nagel, Minneapolis, April 5, 1982.

[27]Quoted in Hartrich, *The Fourth and Richest Reich*, p. 277.

[28]Quoted in "Germany, Partner in World Progress," *Fortune Magazine* (December, 1965), pp. 55-80.

The Image of the German in Contemporary Minnesota

by Gerhard H. Weiss

Germans and Americans have at least one thing in common: like Willy Lohman in *Death of a Salesman* they are obsessed with the wish to be well liked by others. However, more often than not, they are cursed with misunderstanding and rejections. We know how hard the United States has been trying to win the hearts of the rest of the world, and how often the American Knight in Shining Armor is seen abroad as the "Ugly American," the ugly Uncle Sam who personifies all the evils of this world. Germans have for decades tried to create the image of "the good Germans," and to erase the memories of an inglorious past, only to find that in the eyes of many they are still the "ugly Germans," who at their worst are perceived as unreconstructed warmongers and Nazis and at their best as hard-working consumers of sauerkraut and beer. The number of books and articles that have appeared in the Federal Republic on the subject of the German image abroad is considerable.[1] It is also interesting to note that this preoccupation with the German image appears to be uniquely centered in the Federal Republic and is not shared by the other German speaking countries. It is obviously a reflection of the extent to which the West Germans consider themselves the heirs of the old German Tradition.

The Problem of National Stereotypes

National images and stereotypes are, obviously, oversimplifications. They are labels that one likes to use to sort out a complicated world. When Theodor Heuss, the first president of the Federal Republic, was once asked whom he could consider "the typical German," he is reported to have responded: "I have not met him yet."[2] A very good text for advanced German classes has the promising title *Typisch deutsch?*, and the question mark behind it gives us the answer. THE German does not exist; he is a figment of the imaginiation.

National stereotypes combine fact with fiction, observation with misconception, curiosity with ignorance. They often have their roots in history, and they are usually the result of an ethnocentric vision. Other people are different because "them is not us." Others are like animals in a zoo: we observe them from a safe distance to watch their peculiar behavior. And we are very much afraid to come too close to them. The less we know about them the more sure we are of our preconceived notions. What we love to see is the "odd," the "unusual," the "exotic," the "macabre." If other people were like us, we would have nothing to talk about.

An 1893 Turner Hall costume from New Ulm, Minnesota. (Minnesota Historical Society).

Stereotypes offer simple answers to complex questions. However, our task here is not a general discussion of the nature of prejudice: more competent authorities have dealt with that.[3] We are concerned with the image of the Germans in America and, to the extent that this is possible, with the image of the Germans in Minnesota. In my first attempts to come to grips with this question, I went to the local bookstore to see what I could find. What view of Germany and the Germans is presented to the general public? My research was not very encouraging. There were, of course, the outright war books, works on Auschwitz and the holocaust, and the usual paperbacks sporting swastikas, jack-boots and seminudes. A strange association seems to have developed between Naziism and pornography, a phenomenon that deserves investigation by psychologists. In addition, I was struck by the number of books that dream of a revival or continuation of Naziism. While the abundance of books of this kind tells a tale, these works were of little help in my attempts to gain insight into what Americans really think about "the Germans."

Finally I encountered a book that was advertised as "a penetrating examination of the German mind, the culture, and the complicated soul of modern Teutonic history."[4] And there it was: a beautiful cover that contained all the standard American stereotypes in one easy visual lesson. In the center was the swastika, partially covered by a beer-stein filled with fresh flowers (Germans love nature, don't they?). A Rolleiflex camera was neatly posited next to the beer mug, resting on a letter by Goethe. Behind the camera there was a pretty hobby horse, an example of Germany's toy industry. In the back of the picture, under a bust of Richard Wagner and the VW emblem, lay crumpled up the barely visible flag of the Federal Republic. Dürer's "Praying Hands" gave the picture its mystical dimension. Beneath, in bold, German-style letters, was the title *Germans*. Obviously, whoever designed the cover was aware of all the popular stereotypes associated with Germany and the Germans. The book, which is anecdotal rather than scholarly, neither removes these stereotypes nor does it especially confirm them. The designer gave us the impression of an image, not a refleciton of the book's actual contents.

At the "Festival of Nations" in the St. Paul Auditorium in 1949, this booth is clearly identified as Austrian (Minnesota Historical Society).

My further research led me to another book which had a cover displaying a romantic drawing of a castle on the Rhine. Another stereotype had been evoked, that of Germany the quaint, the museum, the tourist mecca. The book itself (LaVern Rippley's *Of German Ways*), is appreciably better than its cover, but it is descriptive rather than critical. Finally I came upon two volumes with covers that had few decorations. These books were sober and lucid accounts, of the Germans in general in one case and of the Germans in America in the other: Gordon Craig's *The Germans* and LaVern Rippley's *The Germans in America*. They were obviously intended for a different market and a different clientele.

Is this, indeed, a correct reflection of how Americans perceive the Germans? The answer, fortunately, is no. While these symbols still play a major role in identifying things German, they do not represent a reliable indication of how Americans really feel about the Germans. On the other hand, Germans who encounter these images during their visits to the United States frequently draw the conclusion that there exists a major anit-German current in this country. The outside observer lacks the experience that would allow him to see matters in their proper perspective.

What Constitutes the German Image?

In spite of the many obviously negative images, the actual attitude of Americans toward Germans has remained relatively constant over the last fifty years, and it has not been a hostile one. A survey taken in 1966, for example, revealed that of those interviewed 80% felt friendly toward the Germans, 12% were hostile, 8% were neutral or indifferent; in 1972 the same survey yielded the following results: 58% friendly, 2% hostile, 40% neutral or indifferent.[5] Another opinion poll showed that the most pro-German elements in the United States can be found in the Middle West,

that they are more often Republicans than Democrats, or are politically independent. They belong to the better educated groups and often are connected with one of the Protestant churches.[6] It has been said facetiously that the best friend of the Germans is a college-educated man from Missouri who has reached middle age, votes Republican, and regularly goes to church on Sundays.[7] The anti-German elements are more often found on the Eastern seaboard or in the South. Among them are members of racial and religious minorities and those whose ethnic background connect them with Europeans who were victims of German aggression. Also, an anti-German attitude can be discerned among the less educated who, obviously, are more prone to accept the stereotypes presented by the mass media.

Eastern newspapers are also more critical of the Germans than those of the Middle West or West. Newspapers in Wisconsin and Minnesota generally show a positive attitude toward news from Germany and give a limited but fair and balanced coverage of the Germans. Generally, however, the press does not seem to become terribly excited about events in Central Europe.

In January 1885 a "Carnival of Nations" was held in the Exposition Block Roller Skating Rink in St. Paul, at Fourth between St. Peter and Wabasha (Minnesota Historical Society).

The *Schnickel Fritz* orchestra (ca. 1940) presumably played "German" music (Minnesota Historical Society: *Minneapolis Journal* photo).

This 1937 photograph from the Minnesota Historical Society collection is labeled simply "German dancers."

In my attempt to discover the centrality of the Germans in our own state of Minnesota, I reviewed the *Minneapolis Star* and *Tribune* for the period from 1972 to 1981 to see how often (outside of regular news items) "the Germans" were mentioned. To gain some comparative perspective, I also examined the number of times other major ethnic elements of Minnesota were cited: The Norwegians, the Swedes, the Danes, and the Poles. The results were interesting and quite predictable. Except for an annually-recurring reference to German Day in Minnehaha Park and a detailed report on the Friendship Force visit to and from Berlin, there was little about "the Germans." My count for the ten-year period revealed that Norwegians were mentioned 104 times, Swedes 71, Poles 27, Danes 21, Germans 17 times. The Norwegians rated high because of the visit of King Olaf, and the Poles picked up in 1981 because of *Solidarity*. The Germans, however, remained a steady no-news item. In Minnesota, Germans are obviously not a very conspicuous group. That does not mean, of course, that they are totally ignored. On the contrary, they simply have become a non-controversial and rather confortable part of the population. They are fully integrated into the traditions of the state and, though they comprise the largest ethnic component of the population, nevertheless stand in the shadow of Minnesota's "official" Scandinavian image. Just imagine what it would be like if we had in place of the *Vikings* the Minnesota *Nibelüngen*!

This non-controversial ethnic group of Minnesota Germans has few roots left in the country of its origin. As a matter of fact, the recent increase in interest in geneology reveals that many have only a vague notion where their family came from. Was it from Prussia? the Rhineland? Bavaria? Most of the second, third, or fourth generation Germans have no knowledge of the German language. Their concepts of Germany and things German are largely derivative. Indeed, they themselves dig up some of the old stereotypes and fashion themselves in the image of the German image. The many folk-festivals that have sprung up in communities throughout Minnesota and Wisconsin reflect this tendency. For several years I followed with interest a summer festival celebrated in Jefferson, Wisconsin, aptly called "Gemütlichkeits-Days." There was singing, beer drinking, and parades, and the stores attempted German advertising. For a town once almost entirely German, it was pathetic to see how difficult it had become to recapture the German heritage. The German language used was full of Americanisms, and the entire mood was pleasantly small-town American. Similar events are annually organized in New Ulm (Heritagefest, including a pageant called "Hermannstraum"); in Albany ("G'suffa-days"), in Mayer (Dankeschön Days"), in Young America ("Stiftungsfest"), and in many other communities. In addition to these summer festivals, there are the inevitable *Oktoberfest* celebrations.

Indeed, many Americans must believe that this Munich beer binge is something of a German national holiday. It is not. It is part of the German image, not of German reality. It is an aspect of German regional culture that many Germans ignore, but it has become an integral part of German-Americanism. These German-American folk-festivals reinforce the image of the Germans as a harmless, jolly people who enjoy life, like to dress in quaint clothes and break into dance or song at the slightest provocation, and who can consume unlimited quantities of *bratwurst* and beer. These festivals certainly are a lot of fun, but they are not representative of German culture. They are a fiction of a fiction, and they have their origin in a 19th century rural experience that no longer exists. Visitors from modern Germany are amazed and puzzled when they encounter these activities; they are slightly embarrassed when they must confess that they really do not know the songs that are being sung, and that they have never heard of "Schnitzelbank." These festivals are perhaps as German as the St. Patrick's Day Parade in St. Paul is typically Irish.

The image evoked by the festivals reflects a nostalgia for a past that has been irrevocably lost.

A Sons of Hermann celebration was held on July 28, 1895 in St. Paul. This is the float of Washington *Loge* (lodge) No. 1 (Minnesota Historical Society).

The same 19th century homespun atmosphere is recreated by German restaurants, none of which even approach the sophistication of the local French or Italian establishments. However, one should not blame the German-Americans for attempting to recover what no longer exists: the Germans themselves are not doing much better. After all, it is precisely this attempt to re-capture the mood of the past that has contributed to the international success of such restaurant chains as the "Wienerwald."

Thauwald's Saloon, 55 West Kellogg, St. Paul about 1875-1880 (Minnesota Historical Society).

The German Image in Minnesota

If today the image of the Germans in Minnesota is a rather favorable one, this has not always been the case. It has had its ups and downs, and in many ways reflects the German image in the nation as a whole. It has been shaped by historical events, by particular German contacts in the state, and by the impact of major opinion makers. Perhaps more than in most states, Minnesota Germans were initially identified with farming. They were (wrongly) considered "the best farmers, with small houses and big barns."[9] In the towns, they usually functioned as skilled craftsmen (later to be replaced by the proverbial "Norwegian carpenter"), or they were owners of grocery or butcher shops. The image of the beer-drinking German received its earliest support from the one major entrepreneurial endeavor of early Minnesota Germans: the founding of breweries (Glueck, Hamm, Schell, Schmidt, Hauenstein, to name only a few), and from the fact that many of the pubs in St. Paul, before they became Irish, were in German hands.

These early Germans were good citizens, but

The Betz and Hauenstein Brewery at New Ulm was founded in 1865, but this photograph shows that an addition was being erected in 1868 (Minnesota Historical Society).

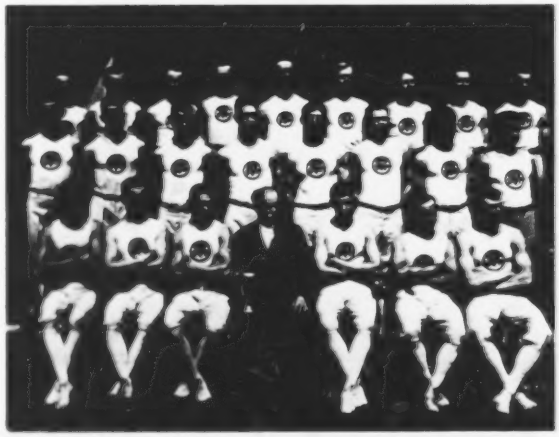
Largest of the St. Paul's breweries is Schmidt, pictured from the rear in this 1962 photograph (Minnesota Historial Society: EDB).

their public involvement seldom reached beyond their immediate communities. They were not considered politically astute. Politics remained the domain of Minnesotans of Anglo-Saxon, Irish, or Scandinavian stock.[10] This has changed only recently, and it speaks for the present image of the Germans in this state (or, better, for the healthy attitude that national origins no longer play a major role), that in recent years "Scandinavian Minnesota" has elected two senators of German origin. This would hardly have been possible fifty or seventy-five years ago.

The earliest image of the Minnesota Germans — and, by analogy, of Germans in general as seen from a Minnesota perspective — has been that of hard-working, thrifty farmers and small-townspeople, who were perhaps not too bright (because they spoke no English, or spoke it in a funny way), of solid church-goers whose national heritage and religious convictions were closely interlinked with either the Lutheran or Catholic faith. On the other hand, these Germans were also looked on with some suspicion: they seemed to have an affinity toward socialism (after all, Marx was a German, and even Bismarck played into the hands of the Socialists), and some of them seemed to be outright agnostics and humanistic culture worshippers. The *Turner Society*, for example, appeared to many a non-German, a highly subversive organization.[11] Sinclair Lewis' *Main Street* gives us a very telling view of how German immigrant farmers were seen by their fellow Minnesotans. Their unattractive look becomes apparent when we see a farm couple leave a train: "A bearded German and his pucker-mouthed wife tugged their enormous imitation-leather satchel from under a seat and waddled out."[12] A few pages later we hear of the proverbial German tight-fistedness: "I don't like some of these retired farmers who come here to spend their last days — especially the Germans. They hate to pay

This St. Paul Turner picture (ca. 1910) is not explained, but the young men presumably are members of an outdoor drill or gymnastic team (Minnesota Historical Society).

These ladies, who drilled with pails and brooms, were members of the St. Paul Turnverein. In this photograph (ca. 1920) they pose in front of Turner Hall at Summit and Wabasha (Minnesota Historical Society).



Despite the anti-German campaign of the World War I era, an impressive group of St. Paul Turners proudly display the cup they won at the 1920 Northwestern Gymnastic Society Meet (Minnesota Historical Society).

The younger women of the St. Paul Turnverein drilled with Indian clubs in 1892 (Minnesota Historical Society).

Although the Turners are usually thought of as gymnasts, this St. Paul Turnverein Society picture (ca. 1910) shows that their singing group was an organization of considerable consequence (Minnesota Historical Society).

Although this 1892 group is identified only as "a Turnverein Auxiliary," the ladies seem to be demonstrating the scope of their activities (Minnesota Historical Society).

school taxes. They hate to spend a cent. But the rest are a fine class of people."[13] On German eating habits, their poor command of English, and their reluctance to move with the times, we have the following conversation between Dr. Kennicott and a German farmer whose wife is ill: "What she been eating?' 'Vell, I tink about vot ve alwis eat, maybe corn beef and cabbage and sausage *und so weiter*. Doc, *sie weint immer*, all the time she holler like hell. I vish you come.' 'Well, all right, but you can call me earlier next time. Look here Barney, you better install a phone — telephone *haben*. Some of you Dutchmen will be dying one of these days before you can fetch the Doctor.'" Sinclair Lewis describes these farmers as speaking the "pidgin-German" of those "who have forgotten the Old Country language without learning the new."[14]

The farmer in Stearns County or the small-townsman in a community like New Ulm serves as the earliest example of the Germans in Minnesota, and the image they created became a deeply rooted stereotype. They and their counterparts in many other states are the source of one American concept of the German; that he is an unsophisticated, simple person who may be endowed with a folk-culture but no "real" culture. He is an orderly, rather authoritarian person, not terribly imaginative but at times highly emotional. He is a bit pig-headed and has no sense of humor, but he loves to belly-laugh. He is at his best playing in an oompah band or singing sentimental folk songs in a choral society. The use of the masculine pronoun is deliberate, because it is "he" that counts. His wife is a good *Hausfrau*, and it is symptomatic that this particular word was taken over into the English language while its male counterpart, *Hausherr*, was not. It is this picture of the German which has prevailed into our times and which, of course, has lost all identity with the realities of the homeland. Thus, what to this day is so often marketed as "typically German" is in reality nothing but an over-simplified view of the German-American of 100 years ago. It is as if we were to consider Mr. Pickwick the personification of the typical Englishman.

The Sons of Hermann of South St. Paul posed for a group picture in the 1920's with their lodge banner and the American flag (Minnesota Historical Society).

This photograph in the Minnesota Historical Society collection is labeled simply "German school class," but all of the individuals are identified and two of them further identified as "Pastor" and "Insp."

German Image and German Culture

While German-Americans have always liked to think of themselves as immigrants from the land of poets and thinkers, the land of high culture, the American image of them has not been so favorable. Very little was and is known, for example, about German literature, and few Minnesotans (or, for that matter, few Americans), could cite the name of any major German writer, living or dead. Few would recognize Friedrich Schiller, for example, whose monument stands in Como Park in St. Paul, and who is often mistaken for a Revolutionary War hero or perhaps an early governor. In most American high schools European literature means English literature, with a bit of French and possibly Russian literature thrown in for good measure. European art usually stops at the Rhine, and so does most European history. Although there have been some recent improvements, this attitude still prevails.

A case in point is Kenneth Clark's television series and book *Civilization*, which a few years ago had an impact on middle class America. It was viewed by millions, purchased in book form by many, and has been adopted by schools and film libraries everywhere. It was an excellent series and it still is an excellent book. However, its description of German art is minimal and leaves the viewer with the feeling that the Germans have really not contributed much to the European scene. When Clark discusses Dürer, for example, he cites the famous portrait of Oswald Krell. He recognizes its quality as a work of art but combines his praise with a negative statement about the Germans: "Oswald Krell is on the verge of hysteria. Those staring eyes, that look of self-conscious introspection, that uneasiness, marvellously conveyed by Dürer. . . .How German it is; and what nuisance it has been for the rest of the world."[15]

Since the image of the German was that of the unsophisticated and culturally deprived, it was obvious that the German language was similarly condemned. In American schools it has been traditionally viewed as awkward, harsh, and really unsuitable for cultural utterances, though possibly fine for techinical and scientific expression. It is a language for men rather than women. Thus, German had not been a part of the curriculum of the former Northrop Collegiate School for Girls in Minneapolis, but Blake, the boys school counterpart, has always had a very active German program. An early reflection of the vulgarity of German as perceived by Americans is one of the first comic strips to be serialized in American newspapers, the *Katzenjammerkids*. Hans and Fritz and their low-brow family were seen in many capers, and immortal utterances like "Look out Mister! If der Dampness gets in der head you get sure der rheumatismuss!" or "Didn't der customers pay?"[15] give evidence of their linguistic uncouthness.

The general image of the Germans has been that of coarseness and lack of culture, a fact borne out by the names of food items adopted in America: *bratwurst, sauerkraut, pumpernickel* are certainly less sopisticated than *pate, artichoke,* or *croissant*. Yet there has been, from the early days, a certain admiration of German education and German learning. German universities and student life have been viewed positively. The famous *Ratskeller* in the University of Wisconsin Union in Madison still reflects this romantic view of German 19th century university life, an image that has been perpetuated in this country through the immense popularity of the musical *The Student Prince*.

That the image of the great German university should contradict the image of the German simpleton need not puzzle us unduly. Stereotypes, after all, are never based on logic, and they have

no claim to consistency. So while the average German (and especially German-American) appeared to be unsophisticated, there was always room for the elite — an elite, however, that distinguished itself more through academic achievements than through aristocratic behavior, through "Gemutlichkeit" rather than genuine sophistication. Indeed, when we witness the accounts of this German upper crust, we cannot fail to sense the hidden comment of the observer: "If they were only Englishmen or Frenchmen." Perhaps no other work has done more to create the image of the German "Professor" in popular American lore than Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*. Her character Professor Bhaer "who could read several languages, but. . .had not learned to read women yet"[17] is a rather ugly-looking but kind hearted, almost child like fellow of great learning and little worldly sophistication: "A regular German - rather stout, the kindest eyes I ever saw and a splendid voice. . .He hadn't a handsome feature in his face, except his beautiful teeth; . .he looked like a gentleman, though two buttons were off his coat, and there was a patch on one of his shoes."[18] This model German, then, became the prototype of the absent-minded German professor in American fiction, a figure that still appears in Walt Disney cartoons and television commercials.

During World War I this benign (though perhaps somewhat condescending), view of the harmless German changed suddenly and completely. The thrifty farmer came under suspicion of being the Kaiser's spy, the student prince became the arrogant Hun, and the nice professor turned into the evil subverter of innocent American minds. All positive concepts were put aside "for the duration," while the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, on instructions from Governor Burnquist, sniffed out unpatriotic and un-American activities. All students of Minnesota history are aware of the persecution and harassment that was meted out to innocent people whose only fault was that they had German names or spoke the German language.[19] Instead of crying over the sweetness of a Professor Bhaer, Minnesotans were asked to hate the evil nature of a professor Schaper, or a Professor Klaeber. The Schaper case became a *cause celebre* of admiration turned into hatred and of guilt by association. The Wisconsin-born German-American was condemned as "the Kaiser's man" and summarily dismissed from the University of Minnesota[20]

Not only were Minnesotans of German descent persecuted and maligned, all of German culture was called into question. Symbols of Minnesota's German heritage were removed and destroyed. Many schools stopped teaching German, and churches switched to English in their worship services. The statue of *Germania* (not a great work of art) that graced the Germania Bank in St. Paul was removed and probably sold for scrap; the bank itself changed its name to "Guardian National Bank." German books in schools and libraries were closely examined, and an extensive blacklist was established of works that, because of their pro-German content, could not be used in the classroom. The image of the German had been replaced by the image of the Hun. This distorted view soon abated, but it demonstrates how quickly a positive attitude can change to a negative one. The events of World War I also had a lasting psychological effect, because the German element in Minnesota continued to live under a shadow, playing down its heritage and often actually forgetting it.

While the First World War was a severe shock to ethnic Germans in America, the continuing problems of Germany after the war - even the rise of the Nazis - had surprisingly little effect on the German image in the state. From the 1920s to the present, the popular view mixed positive and negative elements. The German remained a hard-working individual; he was modest, simple, loved authority; was family oriented, could be pig-headed, a bit of a bully, and loved to march to military tunes. It was the old "gemütliche" German with a bit of the old Kaiser's blood in him. The new Germany of the Weimar Republic had very little impact on the view of the Germans in the Middle West. Ethnic societies preferred the colors black-white-red to the new black-red-gold of German democracy. They preserved the image of Germany before the war and had little contact with what had evolved since. When, finallly, the Nazis became prominent, the Kaiser was replaced by Hitler. The Rathenaus, Eberts, and Stresemanns never became German national symbols. Hitler and his Third Reich were initially seen as something more curious than diabolic, as a continuation of German martial tradition and German yearning for law and order. There was, at least at first, little hostility to the "new Germany," and the Germans in Minnesota were certainly not held responsible for it. When World War II broke out, Minnesotans remained quite level-headed, and popular opinion never returned to the follies of the First World War.

The Media Image

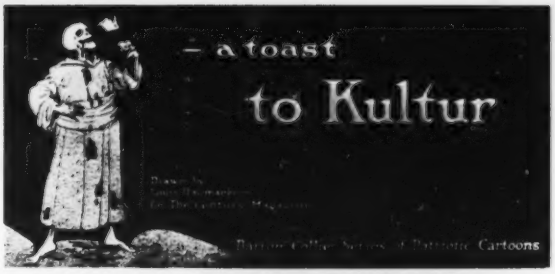
When we speak of "popular opinion," we mean the opinion of people in the street and their instinctive reaction. Often this may be quite different from the "published" opinion, the opinion expressed by the opinion makers. If we consider the media image of Germans during and since World War II, we are amazed that anybody can still trust a German. In media presentation old stereotypes and Nazi images are combined to

create a Frankenstein-monster of the "typical German," a construct that, fortunately, is often so absurd that it is not associated with the "real thing." Indeed, we find again and again that people assign the construct to an abstract concept that may have an existence in a fairy tale world, while in their everyday dealings they totally ignore it.

Two examples from my own experience will illustrate this. When I came to the United States in 1946, I was almost immediately drafted into the United States Army. On one of my first days of training, a soldier said to me, "You know, there is a German in our platoon." I told him that I knew, and that I was the German. "No, no," he replied, "it is the guy over there." He pointed to a Tennessee hillbilly with very short-cropped blond hair, who was cross-eyed. Of course the fellow was a native-born American, but — as I found out later — he looked a bit like the evil German of a comic book. So the "real" German was perfectly acceptable while the imaginary one was condemned. Another experience came much later, just a few years ago. In the early 1970s, the Metropolitan Transit Commission tried to persuade University of Minnesota students to use buses instead of private cars. A picture published in the *Minnesota Daily* showed a bus driver leaning out of his window shouting "You vill take der bus" in the best Schltz-imitation of *Hogan's Heroes*. I objected to this ethnic slur, only to find out that the advertisers did not know what I was talking about. There was no negative German image they had been aware of!

When German visitors to the United States complain about the apparent anti-German mood in this country, their judgment is formed by the "published" image which they perceive and which to them reflects what Americans think. They cannot be aware of the popular attitude which largely ignores the published image. The same is true in reverse. The supposed wave of anti-Americanism in West German is also more of a media reflection than an expression of deep-seated resentment. Personal relationships continue to function on a cordial level, even though the local graffiti may suggest that Yankees should go home.

The published image is, of course, heavily sensationalized. It operates with basic and harsh cliches and its task is similar to that of advertising; create a symbol, repeat the symbol, employ emotional rather than rational means of persuasion. The symbols of Naziism lend themselves perfectly to evoke fear and distrust. In the movie *The Empire Strikes Back*, Darth Vader, "the evil Imperial Lord, master of the dark side of the Force,"[21] wears a uniform that is a close copy of the dreaded World War II SS. I am not sure that such psychological tests have ever been undertaken, but it would be interesting to see how children (or adults) would react to German and American World War II steel helmets projected on a screen. My assumption is that the German helmet would immediately be identified with the power of evil and the American associated with heroism.



Reproductions of World War I anti-German cartoons show some of the strategies used. The spiked military helmet, the upturned moustache of Kaiser Wilhelm II, and the German word *kultur* were popular targets. These reproductions of well-known cartoons show two drawn by the Dutch artist Louis Raemaekers, who did much to arouse the Western nations against German brutality (Minnesota Historical Society).

We have already mentioned paperback books that use the swastikas and nudes as a sales inducement. Naziism has become closely intertwined with pronography and sadomasochism. Indeed, for some it has become a latent and rather macabre cult. It has also invaded the lower strata of comic-book literature. A case in point is the comic strip "Phoebe Zeitegeist," published by *Evergreen Magazine*. Another comic, "Sergeant Fury and His Howling Commandos," shows us Germans as horrible Nazis fighting against nobel Americans of all races. How evil these Germans are can be easily gleaned from the screams of their leader: "Now on my count of DREI. . .kill the *verdammt Amerikaner. . .you MUST. . .for DER FUEHRER, for the glory of the REICH FIRE! I ORDER YOU to fire!*"[22] In addition to this comic strip image, we have, of course, the steady diet of World War II movies on television. Generations of young Americans have grown up watching re-runs of *Hogan's Heroes* and know Schultz and Colonel Klinck almost as well as they know Captain Kangaroo and Mr. Greenjeans. However, for most youngsters this seems to be primarily a "funny show," and there is no evidence that observers of *Hogan's Heroes* have developed a particularly strong antipathy to things German.

The Literary Image

On a more sophisticated published level, the image of the German is of course much less primitive, but often more critical. It becomes evident that all is not well in Germany even now, and if you scratch a German, the Nazi will come out. A case in point is Katherine Ann Porter's novel *Ship of Fools*, first published in 1962. There is hardly a redeeming feature in the Germans who are sailing toward their homeland on the old ship "Vera," which was "very steady and broad-bottomed in her style, walloping from one remote port to another, year in year out, honest, reliable, and homely as a German housewife." The German passengers, participating in a shipboard dance, appear "rustic and awkward and mismatched beside the Spaniards. . .Nothing but a common heaviness proclaimed them as members of the same nation." The Spaniards on the ship amused themselves by "doing an imitation — and insulting parody of the German style of waltzing."[24] Although Porter places her novel in the period immediately before Hitler (showing, as it were, that Naziism is a basic German problem, not something that began only with Hitler's assumption of power), other authors describe post-war Germany with equally critical eyes. The "equivocal German" is still a good source of fiction. Walter Abish's *How German Is It?* (with the subtitle *"Wie deutsch ist es?"*)is a book that is advertised to show "the icy panorama of contemporary Germany, in which the tradition of order and obedience, the patrimony of the saber and the castle on the Rhine, give way to the present, indiscriminate fascination with all things American." Book covers often promise more than they deliver, and this book is little more than a collage of old stereotypes in modern dress: behind the new "democratic Germans" there is still the old spirit that made Hitler possible.

Finally, even the German language and a German accent still hold negative connotations. "Nice guys" speak British English, or American English. The bad ones holler "Achtung," "Losloslos," and speak English with a stronger accent than Henry Kissenger. The positive image of Field Marshall Rommel in the movie *Desert Fox* was underscored by the elegant diction of James Mason. In the recent Disney production *Night Crossing*, the good East Germans who are trying to escape from the German Democratic Republic speak British or American English. The informers and members of the East German police have strong German accents or speak German. Thus one can easily sort out the good and bad guys, even though all of them are Germans.

In recent years the German image in America has also been influenced somewhat by West German motion pictures. The impact has not been great and is limited to a rather sophisticated audience. However, since these films are usually quite critical of contemporary German society and the recent German past, they tend to reinforce the pictures offered by Porter, Abish, and others. If the American image of the Federal Republic had to be based entirely on recent German feature films, one would certainly draw the conclusion that Germany is a depressing country, full of perversity, cruelty and evil. There seems to be no hope for a happy ending.

The Contemporary Image

While the published image of the Germans still exerts its influence, we seem to have reached the point where many of these cliches are regeleted to the role of Cigarstore Indian. They are more folk lore than documentary. They assume a life of their own in the great world of stereotypes, and they are not necessarily associated with the individual Germans with whom one comes in contact or with the Germany that one longs so very much to visit. This, I believe, is especially true in Minnesota, where the image of "the German" on the people-to-people level has become a rather healthy one. True, there may be anti-Germans, but one can say with confidence that there is no pervasive anti-German sentiment here. Many Minnesotans have close contacts with the Federal Republic and have personal ties to people living there. German products are well received, and German firms have become an integral part of the Minnesota business and industrial community. Many Minnesotans, like many other Americans, have adopted their VW, their Audi, their BMW, or their Mercedes into the family; no one associates the beloved VW beetle with the car that Hitler had commissioned or the Mercedes with the car the "Fuhrer" loved to drive. Though some Americans may be critical of Japanese automobiles, German cars have retained an aura of respectability even during periods of vigorous "Buy American" campaign. Germany has remained a favorite tourist attraction for Minnesotans. When Northwest Airlines began its direct service to Hamburg, the new route was not greeted with the comment "why fly there?" but rather with "how nice to have such good connections."

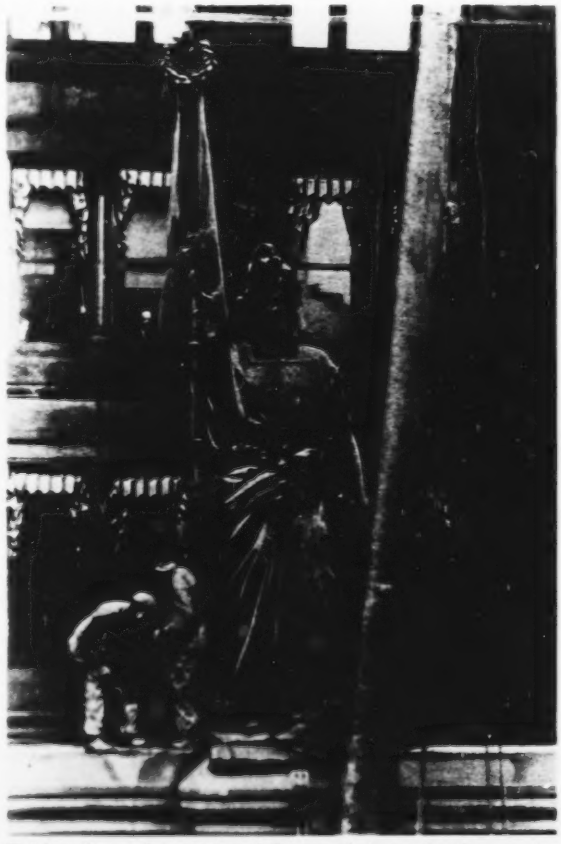
Even German culture other than the "Octoberfest" has assumed some prominence in this state. The Guthrie Theatre has made it a point to include modern German plays in its repertoire. Their performance last year of Nelly Sach's *Eli*, and Thomas Bernhard's *Eve of Retirement* seem particularly significant. Both plays deal with the Holocaust and could easily have led to a condemnation of the Germans as unreconstructed Nazis.

Instead, the Guthrie invited the public to a highly educational forum discussion; the main point was that the destruction of the Jews was a human problem, not a specifically German phenomenon. Audience reaction seemed to point in the same direction. In 1980-81 the Department of German at the University of Minnesota facilitated a year-long festival on Germany in the 1920s, and found enthusiastic cooperation in the arts community of the Twin Cities. The two conferences on the German Heritage and on the special relationship between Germany and Minnesota, sponsored by Concordia College, are another example. In addition, excellent books and articles are being written on German immigrant history. While there is certainly no pre-occupation with matters German in this state, we can say with confidence that after a topsy-turvy relationship in the past we have now achieved a mature partnership.

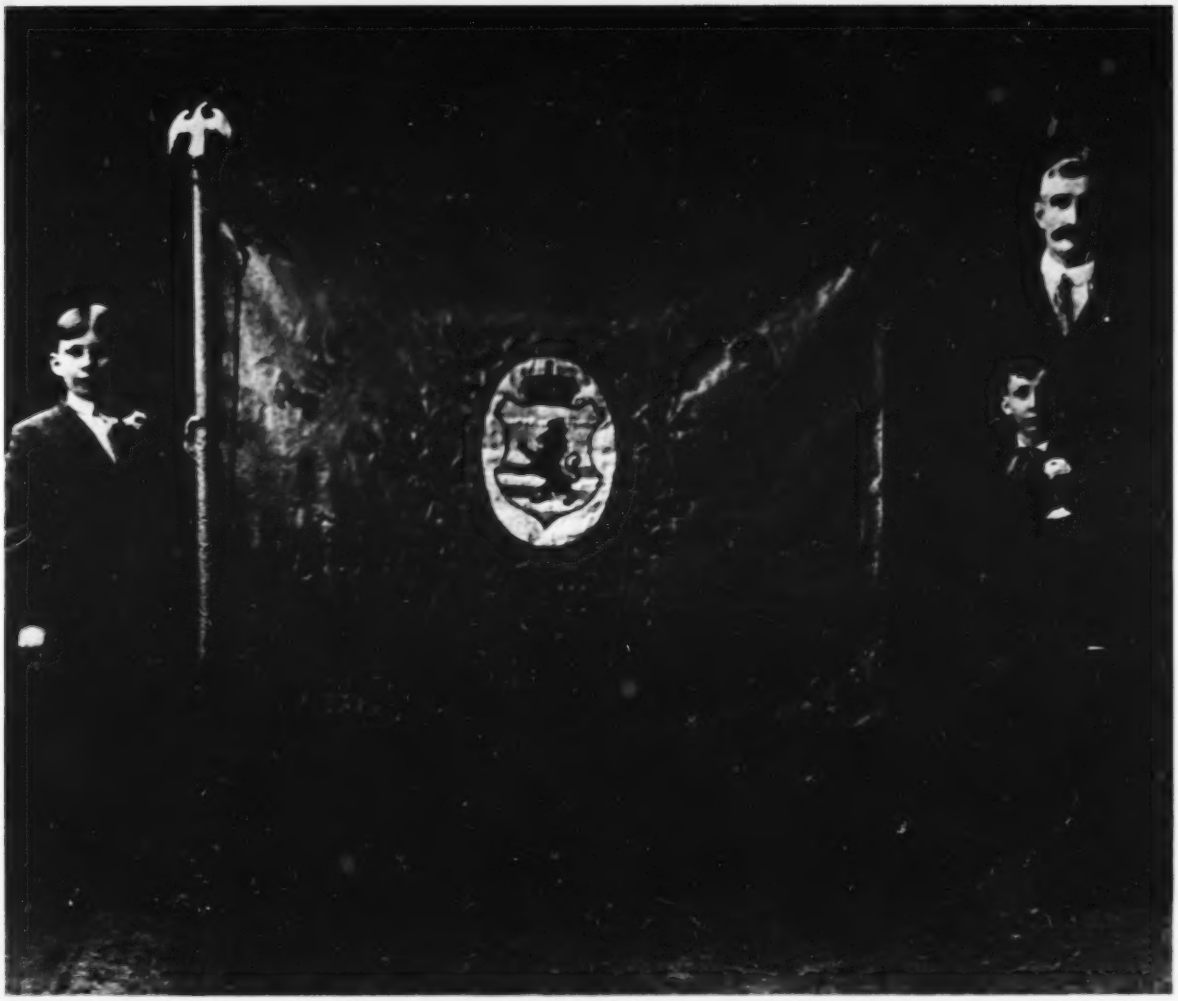
Are the old stereotypes dead, then? No, of course not. As we said before, in some ways they are being kept alive almost deliberately by those who cling to something "specifically German." Heritage days are no fun if everyone appears in blue-jeans and T-shirts and dances to rock music. Since for most ethnic Germans their roots in the homeland have been lost long ago, or were deliberately cut during World War I, the newly-kindled interest in their past has created a surrogate image of the jolly fairytale Germany which has now become an integral part of Midwest American small town culture.

What is the image of the Germans in contemporary Minnesota? It is much more diverse and sophisticated than it was in the past, and there is no one answer to this question. While old prejudices still persist among some, a more objective image has developed among many. It is obvious that the better informed a person is the less simplistic are his views. To get a sense of how some people react at this moment, in the spring of 1982 I asked some of my students for their own attitude toward Germany and the Germans. My survey was in no way a scientific one. All the participants had been exposed to the German language, or at least to German literature in translation. In other words, they had already come in contact with some aspects of German culture. Here is a summary of their responses.

Of about 200 respondents, almost half had been to Germany (West). Of these, only one registered an unpleasant experience, and two felt it was "soso." All the others would like very much to repeat their visits. Of those students who had not been to Germany, only one indicated that he was not interested in a visit. To the question, "What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear the word 'Germany'?," the responses ranged widely: beer, mountains and beautiful scenery, Mercedes, bratwurst, apfelkuchen, Berlin, Berlin Wall, Nazis, my father's homeland, tradition, persecution/communism, music, medieval structures, etc.. The "Germans" were defined as: soldiers, strong, sauerkraut and beer, Nazis (frequently), war, World War II, Huns, strict, conservative, aggressive and domineering, my ancestors, stubborn, happy and well-fed, red-cheeked, stoic, orderly, anti-American, etc.. The German male was seen as: formal and rigid, disciplined, strong-stern-slender, big-robust-loud laugh, beer drinker, academic, overweight, aggressive and pushy, very much like Americans or Canadians, hard-working, wise and intelligent, etc.. The German woman was: kind, industrious, overweight, blonde, outgoing, matronly, like other Western people, beautiful but too fat at age 30, stubborn, home-oriented, chubby, subservient, good cook, not liberated, sexy and nice personality, traditional, and strong willed. Among German products, machines, cameras, wine and beer, and VWs were most frequently mentioned. Most students knew who the chancellor of the Federal Republic was, but 25 did not know him; one thought it was Kaspar Weinberger and three remembered Willy Brandt. Most students knew that West Germany is a democracy, and only three thought it was still a monarchy. When asked



Taking down the statue of *Germania* from the Germania Building in St. Paul on April 1, 1918 was an event of some importance. This is one of a series of photographs in the Minnesota Historical Society collection.



The banner of the Luxemburger Benevolent Association of St. Paul shows that the organization was founded in 1880 (Minnesota Historical Society: Galling photo).

about German culture in Minnesota, the students selected: Octoberfest, sauerkraut, bratwurst, Black Forest Inn, polka music in New Ulm, beer, Christmas traditions, college names, VWs, silly dances, classical music, choirs, and New Ulm. The Octoberfest and the Black Forest Inn were the two most frequently-mentioned symbols of German culture in Minnesota.

How do Minnesotans see the Germans today? There really is no answer to that question. The image has been shaped, and is being shaped, by innumerable impressions, conscious and unconscious. It is an image that is being corrected by an ever-increasing number of personal contacts and by better information. Student exchanges, work, travel, tourism, military service, and a close political and economic alliance have brought the people of Germany and the United States much closer together than ever before. Some of the old stereotypes persist, but they do not seem to affect the general impression. The image of the Germans in Minnesota is, we can say with confidence, a very positive one.

Gerhard Weiss, Professor of German, has been teaching at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis since 1956. A native of Berlin, Germany, he emigrated to the United States in 1946 and, after service in the US Army, completed his undergraduate studies at Washington University (St. Louis) and took his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. His areas of research and publication are German literature of the 17th century and of the late 19th-early 20th century. In addition, he is very much involved in the study of German cultural history. He is the national president of the American Association of Teachers of German (1982/83). In 1981, he was given the Horace-Morse-AMOCO award for Outstanding Contributions to Undergraduate Education; in 1982, he was awarded the Cross of Merit 1st class of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

(omitted through publishing error)

[1]For a good bibliography see Manfred Koch-Hillebrecht, *Das Deutschenbild. Gegenwart, Geschichte, Psychologie* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1977), and G.-V. Graf Zedtwitz-Arnim, . . .*ein Ruf wie Donnerhall* (Düsseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1978).

[2]For an excellent discussion of the search for the "typical" German see Rolf Breitenstein, *Der Hassliche Deutsche? Wir im Spiegel der Welt* (München: Verlag Kurt Desch, 1968), pp. 14-19. For Heuss quotation see Hermann Eich, *The Unloved Germans* (London: Macdonald, 1965), p. 11

[3]See especially G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).

[4]George Bailey, *Germans. Biography of an Obsession* (New York: Avon Books, 1974).

[5]Koch-Hillebrecht, *Das Deutschenbild*, p. 221.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 72.

[7]Rolf Breitenstein, *Der hassliche Deutsche?*, p. 84.

[8]Koch-Hillebrecht, *Das Deutschenbild*, pp. 72-73.

[9]Hildegard Binder Johnson, "The Germans," in June Drenning Holmquist, ed. *They Chose Minnesota* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1981), p. 178.

[10]For a detailed discussion of the Germans in Minnesota politics see Carl H. Chrislock, "The German-American Role in Minnesota Politics, 1850-1950," in *A Heritage Deferred*, ed. Clarence A. Glasrud (Moorhead: Concordia College, 1981), pp. 104-116.

[11]For a very interesting discussion of the "Turner" movement see Patricia Herminghouse, "From 'Deutsche Turner' to 'American Turners': An Immigration Institution and the Process of Americanization," in *Culture and Civilization of the German Speaking States*. Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Iowa Regional Workshop (Philadelphia: The American Association of Teachers of German, 1976), pp. 58-64.

[12]Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1920), p. 23.

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 43. The proverbial German thrift is also reflected in the expression "going Dutch."

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 176 ff.

[15]Kenneth Clark, *Civilization. A Personal View* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), p. 141.

[16]Bill Blackbeard and Martin Williams, eds. *The Smithsonian Collection of Newspaper Comics* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977, p. 28. (Reprinted from *The New York World*, 1918.)

[17]Louisa M. Alcott, *Little Women* (1868 rpt. Chicago: John C. Winston Company, 1926), p. 477.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 339.

[19]Theodore C. Blegen, *Minnesota. A History of the State* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), pp. 470-473.

[20]James Gray, *The University of Minnesota 1851 - 1951* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), pp. 247-249.

[21]See especially the "storybook edition" based on the film *The Empire Strikes Back* (New York: Random House, 1980).

[22]Quoted by G.-V. Graf Zedwitz-Arnim, . . .*ein Ruf wie Donnerhall*, p. 143.

[23]Katherine Anne Porter, *Ship of Fools* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962), p. 19.

[24]*Ibid.*, p. 432 ff.

Cultural Exchange, Germany - Minnesota: A Case Study in Education

by Norbert Benzel

Except for the war years in this century, there has always existed a unique and friendly relationship between Germans from various geographic regions and citizens of the United States. Authors of a number of excellent American and German studies in the past, but particularly those publications that have appeared since the Bicentennial of 1976, attest to this.

Since May, 1949 close cooperation and exchange on many social, economic, and cultural levels have evolved. Many reasons account for it: both countries are highly industrialized entities that benefit greatly from mutual trade exchange; unrestricted freedom of the individual is assured by both governments; the adopted and tested federative system has worked well and effectively in both nations; and, last but not least, the United States is the leading power in a partnership role with the free Western world.

Without passing judgment on the representatives of other ethnic backgrounds, it is certainly true that the large number of German-speaking immigrants coming to this country have had a great share in the enrichment of American life. It is probably true that Germans by and large experienced fewer problems than members of most national groups in terms of assimilating into existing American economic, social, and political patterns. German-Americans managed fairly well in preserving and passing on the most valuable facets of their language, customs, traditions, habits, and ideas — to their descendents and fellow countrymen. It happened especially in those communities in the New World where large concentration of German-speaking immigrants were found, and where the mother tongue was used as a means of communication over a long period of time. It should be realized that a foreign language is still the major means of communication for one out of ten Americans.

But it is also true that over the years, especially during the last decades, interest in German language acquisition and preservation in the U.S. has been diminishing. In 1880 there were 727 German-language newspapers published in the United States; in 1910 the figure had dropped to 433, and in 1960 to 29. In 1890, 80 daily German-language papers were published nationally in the United States; in 1981, according to the AVD (the Society for Cultural Relations Abroad), only one of these daily newspapers had survived. In regard to spoken German in the United States, estimates suggest that there were about 9,000,000 German-speaking individuals in 1910; in 1940 the number was reduced to 6,093,054. Today there are probably 3,000,000 whose first language is German; the figure might even be lower, but not all the 1980 census data has been published. The drop from 1910 to 1970 is surprising, for according to all available figures at this time, German immigrants to the United States constitute one of the largest ethnic groups over a 300-year time span.

How Much Impact?

No comprehensive study has yet been undertaken to assess the impact that Germans have made on the state of Minnesota since 1945. The same holds true for cultural exchanges between Minnesotans and West Germans since 1949, the year the Federal Republic of Germans was founded. Such studies are needed.

We know that the assimilation process of German immigrants and first and second generation German-Americans residing in different parts of this country has been rapid in recent years. But we also know that cultural exchange between Americans and West Germans has taken on new momentum in this same period, and that this is especially the case in Minnesota educational institutions where students are involved in programs with global objectives. Intensified and accelerated communication among all nations, increased availability of cultural materials, and a more positive student participation in the acquisition of different cultural mainifestations account for this phenomenon.

I am presently involved in an investigation of cultural interaction between Minnesota students and West German citizens since the end of World War II. The topic that I have chosen bears the title "Cultural Exchange, Germany-Minnesota: A Case Study in Education." By cultural exchange I am thinking not only of sharing what

Norbert Benzel

Es wird hiermit bescheinigt, daß der Inhaber die durch das obenstehende Lichtbild dargestellte Person ist und die darunter befindliche Unterschrift eigenhändig vollzogen hat.

Amberg/Opf., den 21. Juni 1952

Stadtrat
Im Auftrag

Nr. 2522524

PERSONENBESCHREIBUNG

Name Benzel

Vornamen Norbert Günter Bruno

Geburtstag 9. Januar 1931

Geburtsort Stettin

Deutschland

Größe in cm und Gestalt 168 cm, untersetzt

Gesichtsform oval

Farbe der Augen braun

Unveränderliche Kennzeichen keine

Beruf Schüler

Wohnort Amberg/Opf.

Nr. 2522524

Two pages from Norbert Benzel's 1952 German passport. Note that his "Beruf" was "Schüler."

different societies produce in the arts, sciences, and literature, but also what individuals give and receive in terms of values and works, of knowledge and perceptions. Due to time limitations I will restrict my remarks to a few public and private institutions, and to programs of social and cultural interaction between residents of Minnesota and the Federal Republic of Germany. Specifically, I shall attempt to suggest that even a small private institution of higher learning can make contributions in such an exchange.

There is another reason why I have chosen this topic. As a college teacher and post World War II immigrant to this country, I am acutely aware of the fact that meaningful person-to-person interaction and cultural exchange can make a difference in our outlook, a profound difference. It can change one's very life and future. Let me explain.

Total Collapse After World War II

When the Second World War ended in May of 1945, Germany experienced a total collapse of its economic, social, and political structures. The war had shattered the very foundation on which that state had functioned during the preceding twelve years. The survivors, living in a divided and devastated country and ruled by military occupation forces, began to rebuild their future at Zero Hour. Not just the middle-aged and old, but

These photographs show a school building in Schwandorf, near Amberg, which was destroyed in a bombing the day after the Benzels left it — with a loss of 260 lives, all refugees. The Benzels had been housed on the third floor of the building pictured in both photographs.

Amberg in Bavaria, where Benzel began his teacher training, came out of World War II comparatively unscathed. The walls and towers built hundreds of years ago were constant reminders of Germany's past.

young men and women as well, born during the Weimar Republic and raised under the Third Reich, had experienced the worst aspects of the war years. The had experienced destruction, defeat, demilitarization, denazification, de-industrialization and reparations. Many of them shared guilt feelings and considered themselves members of a lost generation. As a refugee from Pomerania in East Germany, I was one of them.

Our minds were receptive to new impulses, to impressions and new ideas from the outside world, as public schools and universities again opened their doors in southern Germany in 1946. When I entered a teachers' college in a small town in Bavaria that year, I had an ambivalent view of the future before me. But there was one teacher at that institution who directed our visions beyond the periphery of daily needs, frustrations, and concerns — as well as narrow-minded viewpoints. Idealistic, yet very realistic and always positive, her energies and her enthusiasm led us to an engagement in cultural pursuits and an openess toward change. She implanted in us, her students, the notion that even at the edge of the abyss we must think positively. Through interaction with our fellow men and with members of different nations and cultures who adherred to different points of view and cherished different life styles genuine and wholesome growth could take place.

In 1948 this teacher was on of the first seven educators form the occupied Western zones who were invited by their respective Ministries of Culture and the U.S. State Department to study the American public school system during a four-month stay in the States. When the teacher returned to our school, she candidly related many of her experiences, particularly in various Minnesota high schools.

Our response to her vividly related accounts was dirct and immediate. That very year we founded an "American Club" at our college and began to engage in dialogues through correspondence with students at Patrick Henry High School at Minneapolis — all members of that school's "International Friendship Club."

Schoolboy Benzel learned much about Minnesota in talking to Olive Packer and Gladys Hobbs, the two Minneapolis high school teachers who visited Germany in 1948. Their Patrick Henry High School students sent letters, study material, and care packages to the Amberg students from 1948-1952.

American teachers and German students pack into a U.S. Army truck for their expeditions around Bavaria. The students were members of "the American Club."

Exchange Ideas, Poems, Drawings

The ensuing exchange of ideas — related to each individual's past, his world view, and his hopes for the future — was expressed through the medium of a foreign language. We composed poems, wrote booklets with recollections of our former homelands, exchanged drawings and favorite literary works; in short, we shared some of the heritage most dear to us. For my part, I became familiar with Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha" and the beauty of Taylor's Falls; I read Werfel's *The Song of Bernadette* in English translation, Carl Rowan's regular installments of "How Far from Slavery" in a Minneapolis paper, and a number of George Grimm's articles; I received care packages, accounts of school life at Patrick Henry High, and much more. Later on there were discussions with Minnesota exchange teachers and other U.S. nationals. And there were American books in our town library.

It may be difficult today to fully understand and appreciate how much this exchange of ideas, this sharing of mutual interests and values between individuals residing in two different continents meant to us at that time. After all, today we are living in an age of space travel, of affluence and computers. But our exchanges at club meetings and associated activities in the late forties should be seen in the light of the fact that all of us had spent a good part of our formative years in isolation from the rest of the world, and that all these forms of cultural exchange took place after years of bitter conflict, antagonism, and deprivation.

Munich Mayor's Article

To illustrate my point I would like to quote a few exerpts from an article by the then Lord Mayor of Munich and from letters we received from Patrick Henry High School between 1948 and 1950.

In 1948 Lord Mayor Wimmer stated: "Effective help was given us not only in our economic distress, but also in cultural difficulties. Charitable activity of the American occupation power was extended especially to the universities, *Volkshochschulen* and everything pertaining to educational matters; the Americans took exceptional interest in the latter. The America House was installed by

(the) Military Government as a copious institute for the study of American culture and American ways and habits. An extensive library with an equal collection of periodicals offers the population of Munich every opportunity to extend their knowledge about the character of the American world and background. In this important "place of education of the people" there are, besides, regular special exhibitions of American and German works of art. The American education service presents itself in lectures, performances and experiments and offers us a look into the pedagogic work of the USA which is looked upon as a passionate duty by all those who represent this work. . .This cultural activity which unites peoples is crowned by the exchange of students which has been taken up recently and is carried out at Munich by the Academic Foreign Office for Student Affairs. . .The Administration and the citizens of Munich are deeply grateful for this active spirit of help which has been extended over all economic and spiritual spheres. Out of the sorrow over the distress, which we are just beginning to overcome, the fact is dawning on us that . . .a humanistic world feeling is gradually developing. . ." (*We Thank You*, eds. Albert Köhler and Eugen Rindt, Mindlheim/Schwaben, 1949, p. 20)

And here are three short excerpts from the Minnesota students alluded to before: "I read the book of *Snow White and Rose Red* and I would like to thank you. We were completely awed by the beautiful printing and the clever pictures, and all agreed that none of us had ever seen anything like it. I read the story when I was quite small but I still enjoyed it. We are very appreciative that you took the time to make this delightful book and the others which we received.

American Students Tell of Activities

"Last week we gave a program for the Parent Teacher Association of our school. We told them the history of the club and how it originated. One of our members played some of the songs from the lovely book of songs you made on her accordion, while two members of the Patrick Henry Choir sang them. Many of the people here seemed very interested and will help us in our work."

"I am writing to you on behalf of our Fashion Drawing class at Patrick Henry High School. The reason for our writing is due to the fact that we have had the opportunity to study your beautiful booklets. As we are interested in art work, the artistic designs held our interest to a great extent. You should be very proud to have made such perfect studies. The illustrations, penmanship, neatness, and time certainly was worthwhile. The booklet titled *Die Sage von der Neudecker Burg* held our attention to a great degree. The cover was a masterpiece. We particularly liked the blacksmith illustrations for *Swei Sagen aus Thüringen*. As we cannot read German, we made use of the art side and have gained many new ideas from them. By looking through *Sudetenland* we anticipated that it was a geographical write-up. The map which was the highlight was a piece of work done magnificently. Congratulations, everyone, for a job well done. Your friends of America."

Finally, this excerpt. It is taken from a letter sent to me by a Minnesota teacher and is dated December 11, 1950. "We are actively interested in seeing a better world for the common people. The latter interest is what has prompted our school group to try to show yours something of our way of life. . .This attempt on our club members' part led to all the interesting friendships through letters, to our personal meeting with you, sharing the achievements of your country's culture. So now the whole venture has become real and personal; our interests are not in lofty ideals but in real people — which should lead us to hope and pray together by making the best of our unselfish selves that we can. Believe me, we are eager to tell our people here how worthy are the young German people of any help and encouragement and moral support that we are able to give. . ."

Recognized Cultural Similarities

Looking back on my experience as a teenager, I dare say that they made me more fully understand social, academic, and historical differences. I began to recognize cultural similarities at home and abroad, and with it broader perspectives of universal contentions and problems.

This exchange of thoughts took place through the medium of a foreign language, and the sharing of many positive and negative aspects of war-torn Germany and the United States with young Minnesota high school students was instrumental in my decision to emigrate. Close friendships had developed, mutual respect for one another had emerged, and assistance was extended. In the end, part of my transportation was paid for by Patrick Henry High students, and my remaining two years of undergraduate studies were largely financed by college student groups at Hamline University in St. Paul.

My involvement in foreign language teaching on the high school, junior college, and university levels has confirmed in me the strong conviction that the most effective way to understand cultural manifestations of any kind in other parts of the world is through the mastery of a foreign tongue. In my view, it is the basis for meaningful cross-cultural understanding. To the degree that we

manage to comprehend thereafter basic tenets of cultural expression abroad, we will gain greater insight into the heritage of our own past and into that of other ethnic groups and minorities in the United States.

Foreign Languages Neglected

For many reasons, foreign language study has been neglected in most American schools since the end of World War II and this has been happening in Minnesota. Some Americn educators have described the present situation nationwide as "serious," "dangerous," and even "scandalous." It is obvious that under these circumstances meaningful cultural exchange between Americans and West Germans is made difficult.

Recent investigations indicate that although only 24 percent of American high school students studied a foreign language not too long ago, the figure dropped to 15 percent in 1979, when only one out of twenty students elected to take French, German or Russian beyond the second year. And the decline continues.

In 1915 eighty-five percent of American institutions of higher learning had foreign language requirements for entering students, who had to have a record of having studied a foreign language or could demonstrate competency in one. Statistics show that fifty years later that requirement was retained by less than eight percent of American colleges.

In 1980, 16 out of 100 Americans completed college and one out of five college students received instruction in a foreign language. By the 1960s and 1970s many American colleges and universities had abolished the language requirement for graduating college seniors. The seriousness of this situation becomes apparent when we consider that between 1974 and 1977, for instance, 102 colleges and universities had dropped instruction in German from their curricula altogether. On the bright side, an AP release of April 2, 1982 states that Yale will require two years of a foreign language of all students entering the institution in the fall of 1983. This means that Brown University will now be the only Ivy League school without a foreign language requirement for admission.

Less Decline in Minnesota

Fortunately the decline in foreign language enrollments in Minnesota schools has never reached the proportions of the national scale. This is true for both high schools and colleges, and it is particularly the case with German language study. In assessing foreign language study in Minnesota school districts, the following picture emerges: in 1977, 245 of 439 districts offered foreign language instruction, taught by 239 teachers; during the 1980 school year, 239 of 432 school districts included foreign language classes in their academic offerings, taught by 257 teachers. The percentage decrease of districts with foreign language involvement during this time span amounts to three percent, that of teachers twelve percent. In the area of German, the drop in instruction — which was offered by 168 and 162 districts in 1977 and 1980 respectively — was a mere one percent; and the decrease in the state's overall pupil population was higher than its foreign language drop.

A comprehensive analysis by the *Modern Language Review* published in January, 1980 lists the foreign language status of 32 responding institutions of the 36 in existence in the State of Minnesota. None of these colleges reported a foreign language requirement for admission. Thirteen institutions (or 40.6%) required a foreign language for graduation, 19 (0r 59%) offered study abroad programs, and all of the institutions accepted credit for such study abroad. Twenty-seven (or 84%) of Minnesota colleges and universities offer German instruction.

High Interest in Cultural Exchange

There is ample evidence to support the premise that the degree of cultural awareness on the part of Minnesota college students is high and that cultural exchanges take place throughout the year on many of the state's campuses. There is evidence of a commitment to excellence in the teaching of foreign languages and in international studies, and of financial support for such programs from college administrators, from state and private agencies, from foundations and corporations, and (last but not least) from private citizens. In the case of German, the governmental agencies of the Federal Republic of Germany have to be included in the supporting agencies. I would like to focus your attention for a moment on the activities and innovations of one small Minnesota liberal arts institution, Concordia College of Moorhead, Minnesota.

For more than seven consecutive years Concordia's German department has been one of 14 American colleges and universities that work with officers of the 25-year-old Federation of German-American Clubs to provide one-year exchange possibilities for German and American students on a true exchange basis. Under the provisions of complete financial reciprocity, Concordia's students of German have studied at universities such as Mainz, Bonn, Marburg, and Giessen; and German students have come from various universities of the Federal Republic (most of them in the southern German *Lander*), to continue their studies on the Concordia campus. This student exchange program was first initiated in 1955 by Germans in Münich who were grateful for the

generous help extended by the United States after World War II. It is supported financially by the Federation's members in more than fifty clubs, and by the *Kulturministerien* of Baden-Wurttemberg, Bavaria, Northrhine-Westphalia, and the Rhineland Palatinate.

Language Camps Successful

Twenty-one years ago Concordia was the first institution of higher learning in the nation to establish and conduct summer language camps for junior and senior high school students. The first one was German, consisting of 75 campers. It was an immediate success, and 60 of the 75 participants wanted to return the following year. The first four "Deans" were teachers in Minnesota and recent immigrants to this country.

Initially held at a Minnesota Bible camp, it has provided German language instruction for thousands of youngsters who find themselves in their "adopted country" called "Waldsee," immersed in learning German songs, folk-dances, customs, history, games and traditions; in short, they learn facets of German culture through the use of a foreign language. They experience it. They are taught by trained college and high school teachers from all over the Midwest, Concordia German majors, Amity Aids, AFS students, native Germans, Swiss and Austrians; even a *Gymnasiallehrer* from Wiesbaden is among them.

Concordia's language camps have now become "International Villages," located on an 800-acre wooded site on Turtle River Lake near Bemidji. Summer programs, patterned originally after the German experience-based curriculum, have been modified and greatly expanded. They have been instituted for other languages, and

The Schwarzwald-Haus, constructed in 1982, is the first permanent building of Waldsee, the German Village, and is a part of the International Language Village program sponsored by Concordia College in Moorhead, Minnesota.

Flanked by Dell Bjerkness and Al Traaseth, directors of the International Language Villages, German Consul General Dr. Otto von Siegfried plants a spruce tree at Waldsee. The other tree planter is Beverly Fish, Edward Fish backing her up; Mr. and Mrs. Fish provided funding to make the Schwarzwald-Haus a reality. Others in the picture are Norbert Benzel in the shadows at the left; President Paul Dovre of Concordia College between the two tree planters; and two German village deans, Dan Hamilton and JoAnn Tiedemann at the right.

today language village programs are offered on weekends throughout the year and during the summer months as well. One teacher out of five is a native speaker. The more than 200-member faculty offers instruction in Danish, French, Finnish, German, Norwegian, Russian, Spanish and Swedish on a regular basis. By the end of 1980 nearly 35,000 young people had been involved in these programs, more than one third of them in German.

An interesting aspect of these cultural-enriching programs is that there seems to be no end in sight for improvisation. In the area of German, for instance, there have been special programs such as "Backpacking in Germany and Austria," "Biking Through German-Speaking Minnesota," and "German Log Cabin Building." Whenever possible, the programs include homestays with native families.

This coming summer a four-week German language "total" immersion program for select senior high school and college students will be held at the Schwarzwald-Haus. The teaching methods employed will incorporate the latest findings and data contained in *Kontaktschwelle Deutsch*, developed by the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe in 1981. The offerings will also contain modules for teaching business German.

May Seminar Abroad Programs

Almost fifteen years ago, Concordia's three language departments began operating their first May Seminar Abroad programs. Prospective college participants have to demonstrate mastery of the foreign language and enroll in a 4-credit pre-seminar to prepare for the experience abroad. The 1982 seminar, to cite an example, is entitled "Germany: Focus on a Divided Country," and stresses firsthand experience and interaction. The seminar focuses on the political, social, and cultural conditions in democratic West and communist East Germany — through lectures, tours, homestays, and independent explorations.

Many of these programs would not be possible without the active support of private citizens, of ethnic organizations, and of federal and state agencies in the United States. Cultural materials provided by various agencies of the Federal Republic of Germany are also very important, especially services rendered by the German Embassy, the Consulate General, the Goethe Institute, the German National Tourist Office, the German Information Center, the Goethe House, DAAD, *Inter-Nationes, Deutsch Welle*, and others. On a continuing basis these organizations make many valuable cultural materials available: feature films, tapes, slides, filmstrips, records, newsreels, position papers, books, press releases, pamphlets, pictorial exhibitioins, teaching units, posters, research materials, subscriptions to weeklies and quarterlies, newspapers, magazines, and press reviews. These groups have provided funding to underwrite the costs for Concordia College-initiated seminars. They have granted scholarships for Concordia students and instructors to study in Germany.

Goethe Institute Important

Of special importance is the Goethe Institute in Chicago, which is one of six cultural centers of the Federal Republic of Germany in this country. Its function is to encourage German language instruction, to provide professional assistance to Midwest German language teachers, to arrange and present cultural events, to cooperate with American cultural and academic institutions, and to provide the latest information on the Federal Republic. The Goethe Institute of Chicago has worked with almost a dozen Minnesota organizations and has co-sponsored twenty events in the state within the past three-and-a-half years. Co-operating institutions have been Concordia College, Moorhead State University, Carleton College, North Hennepin Junior College, the University Film Society, and other film clubs and theaters in the state. The events have ranged in focus from contemporary political, social and intellectual trends in 20th century Germany to early German-American history, from conducting seminars to supporting International Day activities. Many Minnesota residents have obtained new ideas from workshops such as "The German-American Experience in the Classroom," "The Utilization of German Video Material in Teaching," and "The Reading of Technical and Specialized Texts in Business German." They have come to a new awareness of their own heritage by studying reproductions of famous paintings in the exhibition "America Through the Eyes of German Immigrant Painters." They have gained new insights by participating in the year-long series of events entitled "German Realism in the Twenties: the Artist as a Social Critic," partially supported by the GIC.

I would like to comment briefly on the positive effects of such cultural offerings and point out the cumulative effect, using myself as an example. In 1979 I felt the need to up-date my knowledge of the contemporary scene in the Federal Republic. I was particularly interested in exploring West German attitudes towards jobs and leisure time. The Goethe-Haus New York and Concordia College provided me with the funding to attend a specialized Goethe Institute at Nürnberg, entitled *"Arbeit und Fami Freizeitgestaltung in der Bundesrepublik."*

Reunions of the *Lehrerbildungsanstalt und Oberschule* continued in subsequent years. This picture of the 1980 gathering was sent to Benzel, who could not attend; these men and women had been his fellow students from 1946 to 1952.

During my stay in Bavaria in 1979, I also became interested in West Germans perceptions toward East Germany. The Northwest Area Foundation and Concordia College supplied me with grants to participate in two international seminars held at Humboldt University in East Berlin during the summer months of 1980 and 1981. I was one of only two Americans in one seminar and four in the other, among 120 professors of German from East Block countries. I not only had a chance to study the contemporary scene in East German: I also had a unique opportunity to explore in some depth East Europeans' perceptions vis-a-vis East Germany and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Norbert G. Benzel, a native of Stettin, Pomerania (now a part of Poland) fled the Russian advance to Berlin and Dresden, and finally to a Bavarian farm — before migrating to the United States in 1952. He took a B.A. from Hamline University and an M.A. from the University of Minnesota (in 1963). After teaching for two years at Brainerd Community College and doing advanced work at the University of Minnesota, he came to Concordia College in 1963. He has served both as dean of the Concordia Language Villages and director of the University Modern Language Institute in St. Paul. He has a dual research involvement: the story of Nazi Germany, which he experienced in his adolescence, and the German-American experience in Minnesota, which is an important aspect of his teaching.

On May 29, 1976, when Norbert Benzel returned to Amberg, some of his fellow students at the *Lehrerbildungsanstalt und Oberschule* a quarter century before gathered to surprise him.

The German Theological and Liturgical Influence in Minnesota: St. John's Abbey and the Liturgical Revival

by R.W. Franklin

The most significant religious event of modern times has undoubtedly been the Second Vatican Council, 1961-64. In the documents of Vatican II, in language which has now become the ultimate statement of Roman Catholicism, the hierarchical canons of the Council of Trent which had governed Catholics for four hundred years are set aside. The revoultionary idea permeating the Council and its documents is that the Christian church is not a clerical hierarchy but one people of God, a mystical community. To this community as a whole, not just the pope, bishops, and clergy, belong all the rights and obligations of full participation in the public worship of life of the church. The world-wide church is no longer defined as the legal arm of prelates but as an institution for the fellowship of humankind, "an instrument for the achievement of social union and unity."[1]

This new understanding of the church at Vatican II was expressed in the 1960's and 1970's in a global emphasis upon communal forms of worship: the liturgy, eucharistic communion, and the liturgical year, rather than on individual acts of piety: the rosary, private prayer or sermons. It resulted in the elaboration of an incarnational theology which emphasizes the church as mystical body of Christ rather than as papal monarchy. It led to the development of new forms of monasticism adapted to slums and lay brotherhoods for agricultural and industrial districts. This new Catholicism transformed the face of Christendom, in the shift of altars from dark sanctuaries into the middle of congregations, and in the style of the great new public edifices, like Liverpool Catholic Cathedral, which was the first round cathedral to be built since the ninth century. The sound of Catholicism was changed, too, for within all these structures Mass was said in the language of the people for the first time since 1215.[2]

The re-establishment of community within the Roman Catholic Church is part of the great communal revival of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a cluster of movements opposing the individualizing forces of the democratic and industrial revolutions. Community in economic relationships is a theme of Karl Marx. The Modern Movement in architecture, from William Morris in the 1880's through the Bauhaus Manifesto of 1919, sought to translate medieval principles of Gothic communalism into a modern style appropriate for an industrial civilization. Richard Wagner envisioned that music drama at Bayreuth would demonstrate organic unity in a fragmented bourgeois society.[3] Germany also contributed to the Catholic dimension of the communal revival in three stages: in ecclesiology in the early nineteenth century, in monasticism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and in the parish liturgical movement in the middle twentieth century.

Johann Adam Möhler 1796 - 1838

German Catholic ecclesiology is dominated by the work of Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838). Möhler grew up amid the ruins of church and state in soutwestern Germany which were the aftermath of the Napoleonic regime. In 1822 the young Catholic seminarian made the upnrecedented gesture of traveling to Berlin to study with the leading Continental Protestant theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher. Möhler returned to the Protestant University of Tübingen in 1825 and proceeded to publish two of the most important books of nineteenth century Catholic theology: *The Unity in the Church* (1825) and *Symbolism* (1832).[4]

Möhler was the first Catholic theologian for a thousand years to argue that the ground of the church was not the clergy or the state but the communal life of all believers. For Möhler Christianity is not rules and dogma, but a life lived in common. Möhler's definition of the church as a corporate unity, rather than a legal entity is based on his theory of the incarnation, that Christ continues to dwell on earth in the church. The people themselves form "the body of Christ." The goal of the incarnation, the joining of matter and spirit and divinity and humanity in Christ, is constantly carried out in the liturgical assembly of Christians.[5]

The Benedictine monastic revival is the second stage of the German preparation for Vatican II Catholicism. At the Benedictine Abbey of Beuron

Abbot Maurus Wolter, O.S.B. (1825-1890), founding abbot of Beuron. For Maurus Wolter, the research, art and missionary activity of the Benedictine monastery should all be centered upon liturgical worship (St. John's Abbey Archives).

in Hohenzollern, founded in 1863, and at the Benedictine Abbey of Maria Laach, refounded in the Rhineland in 1892, the monks taught that public worship or liturgy was the foundation of the community Möhler described the church to be. But, the monks said, in order to make liturgy live again it must be made meaningful to all people, laymen as well as monks and priests.[6]

The influence of Beuron and Maria Laach was felt all over Catholic Germany. On the eve of World War I there were 715 monks in the Beuronese congregation, 199 at Beuron alone. Comunions in the abbey church at Beuron rose from 30,000 in 1890 to 135,000 in 1931. Attendance at the conferences on liturgy at Maria Laach grew from 510 in 1924 to 1,000 annually by 1933. By 1936 monks of Beuron were giving 200 speeches a year to lay people on liturgy. Lectures by the abbot of Maria Laach were drawing fashionable audiences of 2,000 in the industrial cities of the Ruhr.[7]

The Liturgical Movement Begins

At Beuron in 1884 the *Mass Book of the Holy Church* was published, with translations and explanations of all the mass prayers for the laity. In the preface to the *Mass Book* the phrase "Liturgical Movement" was used for the first time

The Benedictine Abbey of Beuron in Southern Germany, on the edge of the Black Forest, re-founded by the Wolter brothers in 1862. By 1914 there were 715 Benedictine monks in the Beuronese congregation (St. John's Abbey Archives)

in Germany to indicate a revival of the church to be expected if the laity once again began to join actively in public worship. By 1906, 100,000 copies of this so-called Schott Missal had been sold. In 1939, 1,650,000 impressions were in use in Germany.[8] Between 1903 and 1940, 200,000 exemplars of the liturgical illustrations of the monks of Beuron, executed in a simple, undecorated style prophetic of the Vatican II era, were being dispersed annually over the globe.[9]

Political persecution directed at monks in Germany after 1870 forced the Beuronese revival into abbeys in Belgium and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[10] Nor was the monastic Liturgical Movement separated from the context of industrial dislocation in Germany. At Maria Laach Abbot Ildefons Herwegan wrote in the 1920's that if worship were restored to a corporate act of the whole Christian people it would "be able not only

Desiderius Lenz, O.S.B. (1832-1928), founder of the Beuronese School of Art. Desiderius Lenz hoped that from monastic communities a new religious art would emerge to meet the needs of modern men and women (St. John's Abbey Archives).

Ildefons Herwegen, O.S.B., abbot of Maria Laach from 1914 to 1946. In his commentary on the Rule of Benedict and in his thirty historical and theological pamphlets which found their way into the Benedictine novitiates and libraries of the world, Abbot Herwegen remained faithful to an ideal he expressed in his *Life of Saint Benedict* (1924): "Liturgical worship is the first and highest exercise of a community." (St. John's Abbey Archives).

An aerial view of Maria Laach. With its art school and literary influence through the German *Akademikerverland*, and with Benedictine visitors from all over the world, Maria Laach excited great interest among German intellectuals before World War II (St. John's Abbey Archives).

to create out of society but also to free society from its earthly bonds, to lift it from the misery of the present."[11] Herwegen's colleague Dom Odo Casel taught at Maria Laach that "the world into which the liturgy introduces us is not a world in its own right, standing aloof from the world of ordinary living. A liturgical life is a life of true humanism, for it is a life concerned with fostering the true interests of human beings as they actually exist in the real order."[12]

The third stage of the German background of Vatican II involved transmitting the liturgical revival from monasteries to parishes. The pivotal figure of this third stage was Romano Guardini (1885-1968). Guardini was a secular priest with

The Abbey of Maria Laach in the German Rhineland. This masterpiece of Rhenish Romanesque, built eight centuries earlier, was refounded by monks of Beuron in 1892 (St. John's Abbey Archives).

close ties to the Benedictines; he was a professor at the University of Berlin with a wide following in the German Catholic youth movement *Quickborn*. Around Guardini from 1924 to 1968 clustered figures who would make German parishes centers of Christian community: the German Oratorians (an order of parish priests), and artists and architects such as Rudolf Schwarz, who in applying liturgical space to the Bauhaus concept of building with concrete, steel, and glass, produced the first modern Catholic church at Aachen in 1930.[13]

Guardini told his contemporaries that humankind would escape the cleavages of modern life through worship. His conception of how to achieve community stood between two disparate European political groups. Right Wing National Socialists (Nazis) taught that the good life of the past had been destroyed by modernization. The only solution for meaningful existence lay in a rejection of the present and no accommodation with industrial or urban society. Totalitarian order would return to Europe through escape into art, or the mystery of a nationalistic religion, or abandonment of the values of the West. Intellectuals of the Left countered with the argument that communistic order could be restored out of the chaos of industrialism by embracing the materialism of the technical world.

"Adopt a System of Values"

Balancing Right and Left, Guardini urged that the community must not reject existence in the contemporary world. But the chocking life of materialism would be transcended only if men adopted a system of values whose end was not man himself but reached beyond man and mere concern with the standard of living. The community is formed by the act of reaching beyond. That act is the mass-liturgy. The liturgy expresses the authenticity, austerity, simplicity, dignity, and "other-ness" which overcomes the industrial world.[14]

The Liturgical Movement became so strong in German parishes that it flourshied even during the last years of the National Socialist time and during the Allied occupation when most Catholic activities were proscribed. Heinrich Georg Hörle continued to operate the parish of Heilige Geist in a proletarian quarter of Frankfurt on the principle that participation in public worship "makes the masses of the industrial city once again a *Volk*, a living community." The German Oratorians Gunkel, Guelden, Becker, and Telemann used *Betsingmesse* and *Gemeinschaftsmesse* in the parish of the Leipzig Oratory to keep Christiantiy alive after post-1945 decrees disbanded all of their organizations. Johannes Pinsk sought to teach East Berliners through his "Liturgical Life Movement" that the altar could be an island of holiness, balance, and civilization in a totalitarian world. By 1950 this parish Liturgical Movement had been formally endorsed by all the German bishops and placed under the direct episcopal supervision of the Fulda Conference. In July 1951 the German bishops sponsored the first international liturgical study week, organized by the Liturgical Institute at Trier and held at the Abbey of Maria Laach.[15]

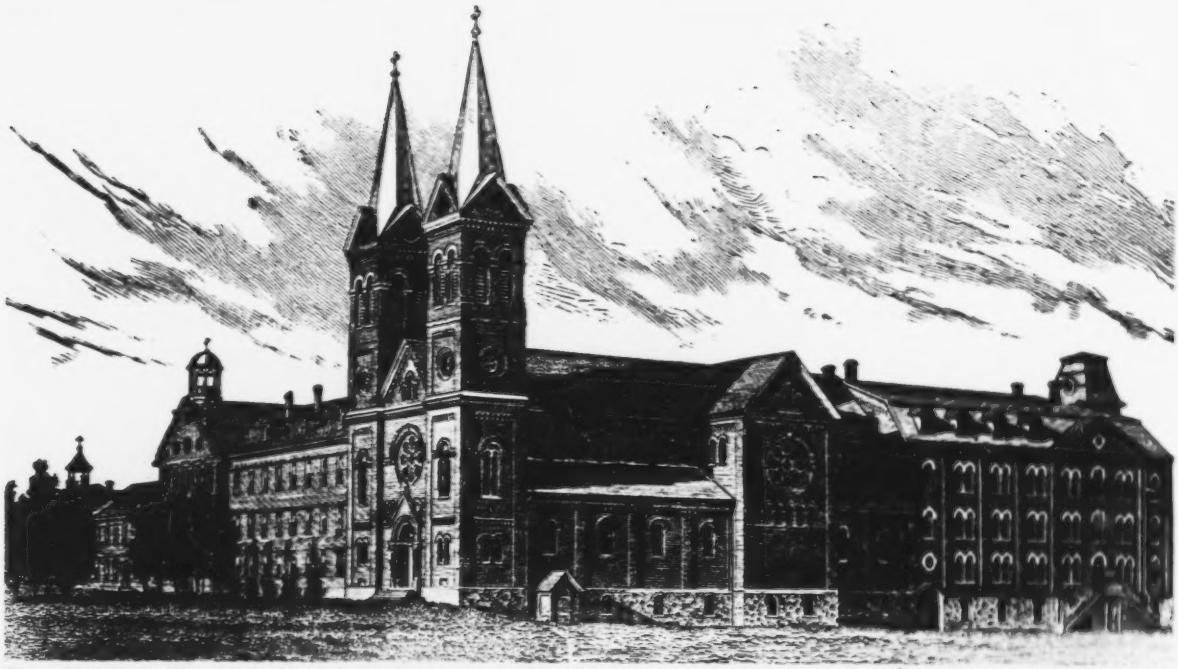
From 1959, in the preparatory commissions of the Vatican Council and in the sessions of the Council itself after 1961, German bishops advocating the communal view of the church were a dominating force. In this the German bishops were giving voice to what had become a part of their tradition because of the Liturgical Movement. Bishop Jaeger of Paderborn stressed that the Council should recognize that the entire Christian people carry on the work of Christ and that the oneness of the People of God should find expression in the full participation of all the laity in liturgical worship. At the Council itself Bishop Hengabach of East Germany reminded the prelates that at Pentecost the Holy Spirit fell on both apostles and laity, and Cardinal Döpfner remarked that the church is a mystical body in which pope, bishops, and people are coordinate members.[16]

The extent to which these notions had already penetrated the churches of many lands was manifest when the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, the first of the radical Vatican II documents, was presented to the fathers of the Council in 1962. The *Constitution* was accepted by a vote of 2,147 to 4.[17] In the United States, Saint John's Abbey in central Minnesota prepared the way for the acceptance of German theological and liturgical concepts among Roman Catholic bishops, priests, and laity.

Benedictines Come to St. John's

When the number of German Catholics in central Minnesota had reached 50 in 1855, Bishop Joseph Cretin of St. Paul called for the Bavarian monks, who had founded the first Benedictine Abbey in America in 1846, to establish a monastery in their midst. In May 1856 a tiny colony of these Bavarian Benedictines built a priory on the banks of the Mississippi in St. Cloud. In 1864 the monks were forced out of St. Cloud, and they settled on 360 acres of rolling hills and lakes west of St. Joseph which had just recently been the hunting grounds of the Sioux and the Chippewa. The monks bought the land with 6,000 florins

The Abbey Church of Metten on the Danube in lower Bavaria. Monks who founded St. John's in 1856 had originally come from Metten, established in 792 during the period when Charlemagne was sponsoring Benedictine houses throughout the territories under his jurisdiction (St. John's Abbey Archives).



The old Abbey Church at St. John's, begun in 1879. The church was based upon plans of the parish church at Bruck, Bavaria (St. John's Abbey Archives).

The monastic quadrangle of St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota, solemnly blessed in 1886. The monks had raised in the Minnesota Indianbush the largest institutional plant in the West, as the catalogue annually heralded (St. John's Abbey Archives).

The interior of the St. John's Abbey Church in 1911, before the full influence of the Benedictine liturgical revival had been felt. The altar is further separated from the people by placing plants in the choir and by the grilles and pillars (St. John's Abbey Archives).

donated to them by King Ludwig II of Bavaria. By 1889, 104 monks and 350 students were living and worshipping in the Romanesque-revival abbey church and quadrange the Benedictines had constructed themselves in the Indianbush. Saint John's was already the largest single community to be established as part of the monastic revival of the nineteenth century.[18]

The influence of the Liturgical Movement of Beuron was first felt at Saint John's under Abbot Bernard Locnikar. For Abbot Bernard the distinctive mission of the monks on the frontier was the promotion of liturgical life and the improvement of church music. Manuals on worship and Gregorian chant were imported from Beuron to Minnesota in 1891-92; the feasts of the church year began to be celebrated with much greater solemnity in the Saint John's Abbey Church, and the divine office was accompanied with Gregorian chant for the first time.[19] Under Abbot Alcuin Deutsch in the 1920's the abbey church at Saint John's was redecorated following Beuronese concepts of liturgical art. The main altar was moved from the apse wall closer to the middle of the monks' stalls, and the interior was painted by Br. Clement Frischauf of the Congregation of Beuron. Liturgical and mystical symbols replaced representations of individual saints.[20]

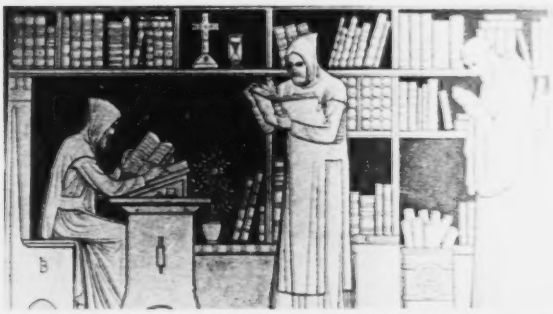
Abbot Alcuin Deutsch, O.S.B. (1877-1951). Deutsch was born of German parentage in the Hungarian village of Valla and was brought to the United States in early childhood. While studying in Europe, Deutsch came in contact with the liturgical revival of the Beuronese congregation. As Abbot of St. John's from 1921 to 1951, he was convinced that the Benedictines, in their ancient and traditional Christian family life, could offer to contemporary society both meaningful and attractive standards of conduct (St. John's Abbey Archives).

As a young monk, Alcuin Deutsch had spent six years in Europe absorbing the Benedictine Liturgical Movement. As Abbot Deutsch said, he "tried, when the opportunity was granted, to create an interest in the Liturgical Movement. For I have the conviction that a deeper practical understanding and living of the liturgy of the church is fraught with great possibilities for good to the Christian people and through them to society."[21] In 1920 Deutsch presented a thirty-year-old native of St. Paul, Dom Virgil Michel, with a copy of Romano Guardini's *The Spirit of the Liturgy*. In 1924 Virgil Michel was sent to Europe. At Beuron Michel studied art. At Maria Laach he conversed with Herwegen and Casel, pored over their vast assortment of liturgical books, and made an outline of possible American publications. Virgil Michel wrote to Abbot Alcuin from Maria Laach: "I had eyes and ears open here and at Beuron and was very much impressed by everything."[22]

Revival of Worship in America

The historic mission of Virgil Michel and Saint John's was now to transplant successfully to America what had previously been essentially a German development. In 1926 Michel organized

The St. John's Abbey refectory painted in Beuronese style by Bro. Clement Frischauf, O.S.B. The monks made the tables and chairs in the monastic carpenter shop (St. John's Abbey Archives).



A detail of St. John's refectory painted in Beuronese style by Bro. Clement Frishauf, O.S.B. The scene shows monks in the *scriptorium* or writing-room (St. John's Abbey Archives).

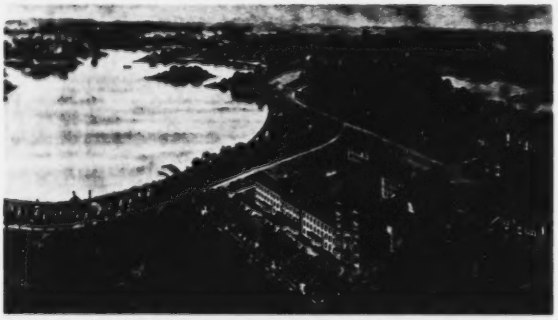
two projects which became permanent forces for the revival of worship in America: the journal *Orate Fratres/Worship* and the Liturgical Press.

Dom Virgil Michel, O.S.B. (1896-1938), a young St. John's monk who studied in monastic centers in Europe from 1924 to 1925. Virgil Michel came back to America with a "new" discovery. It was that the church gives a "proper concept and understanding of what society should be like [and] it puts this concept into action in its worship and wants us to live it out in every-day life." The historic mission of Virgil Michel was to transplant successfully to the United States what had previously been a recovery of public worship in Europe (St. John's Abbey Archives).

By 1929 *Orate Fratres* was appearing in 26 countries, and it soon was to become the official voice of the Liturgical Movement in the English-speaking world. In 1935 *Orate Fratres* began to emphasize strongly the social implications of communal worship: what Depression America needed was community in work and community in ownership. But community in worship was still important to *Orate Fratres*, for the mass was the school in which humankind learned to live communally in secular life. There were practical results at Saint John's in this sphere: the Institute for Social Study designed to train lay leaders in the implementation of social principles, the fostering of credit unions, cooperatives, and rural life associations.[23]

There were many American critics of Saint John's, from morticians disturbed at a new emphasis on simple funerals to bishops who banned *Orate Fratres* from their seminaries and the monks from their dioceses. One critic was Sr. Antonia McHugh, President of the College of St. Catherine, who wrote: "The Liturgical Movement centered at St. John's, which aims to diffuse social charity and understanding through increased lay participation in the official worship of the church, is something with which I will have nothing to do.

St. John's and Maria Laach compared: Maria Laach built on a lake. The Maria Laach lake was a favorite haunt of German romantics in the early nineteenth century (St. John's Abbey Archives).



St. John's and Maria Laach compared: St. John's built on a lake. In its early days, the Minnesota monastery was called St. Ludwig on the Lake, after King Ludwig of Bavaria who provided financial support for St. John's (St. John's Abbey Archives).

St. John's and Maria Laach compared: The choir and sanctuary of Maria Laach painted in Beuronese style. Abbot Herwegen said of the Beuronese style: "I have in the whole of religious art found no more living symbol of prayer. It is worship transformed into line and color." (St. John's Abbey Archives).

St. John's and Maria Laach compared: The choir and sanctuary of St. John's painted in Beuronese. Note students on the opposite of the altar from the priests in this picture. Thus, at St. John's mass was said facing the people long before the liturgical changes of Vatican Council II (St. John's Abbey Archives).

The thought of connecting the psalms with socially activated prayers is too irritating to be considered. The whole commotion is doubtless of German origin."[24] To Irish Catholics on the East and West Coasts the national liturgical conferences, which were held annually after 1945, were "a meeting of a bunch of Germans out in the Midwest."[25]

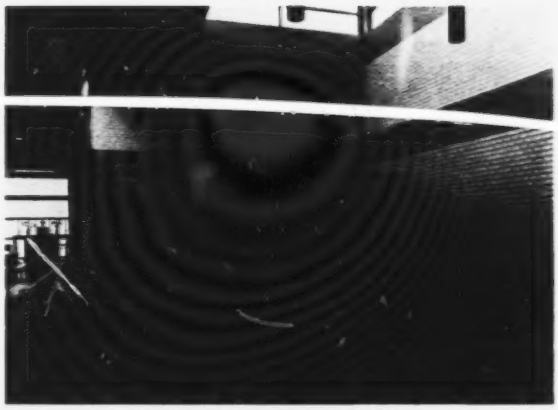
Despite these attacks, the American Liturgical Movement survived the death of Virgil Michel in 1938 and the disruptions of the Second World War. After 1945 twenty monks of Saint John's were involved in conducting liturgical retreats for diocesan clergy, religious communities, and seminarians and lay persons from throughout the country. These retreats were based on models developed at Beuron and Maria Laach at the turn of the century. *Orate Frates*, through its editorial leadership at Saint John's, was responsible for the remarkable growth of the Liturgical Movement in the United States. By 1945 *Orate Frates* reached 5,000 readers. By 1955 the circulation was at 9,000. An analysis of the journal's readership in the late fifties revealed the following breakdown: clergy 39%, laity 27%, colleges and seminaries 22%, sisters 12%.[26]

Liturgical Press Grows

The Liturgical Press continued to operate out of a room in the basement of the abbey quadrangle opposite the wine cellar. Through the 1960's its most popular books were the very first exemplars of the "Popular Liturgical Library," Abbot Herwegen's *The Art Principle of the Liturgy* from Maria Laach, Virgil Michel's *Why the Mass*, and *The Spirit of the Liturgy*. In 1960 Liturgical Press sales reached a high of 80,000 books annually, in spite of never having a title appear on a best seller list.[27]

From 1940 until its revised fourth edition appeared in 1975, an especially noteworthy volume was being distributed from the Liturgical Press. This was the *Short Breviary for Religious and Laity*. It adapted the Roman Breviary to the needs of the Catholic lay person, just as the *Mass Book* of Beuron had explained and provided translations of eucharistic prayers for the German laity. *A Short Breviary* was actually anything but short. It contained 1600 pages of scriptural and liturgical extracts. Tens of thousands of lay persons from all across America purchased *A Short Breviary* through the years, about 200 religious communities adopted the book as their official form of community prayer, and more than 40,000 copies had been sold by 1980.[28]

A monk from Saint John's commented on the gradual manner in which the Liturgical Movement spread from central Minnesota to parishes in Saint Paul and St. Louis, then in the 1940's into the

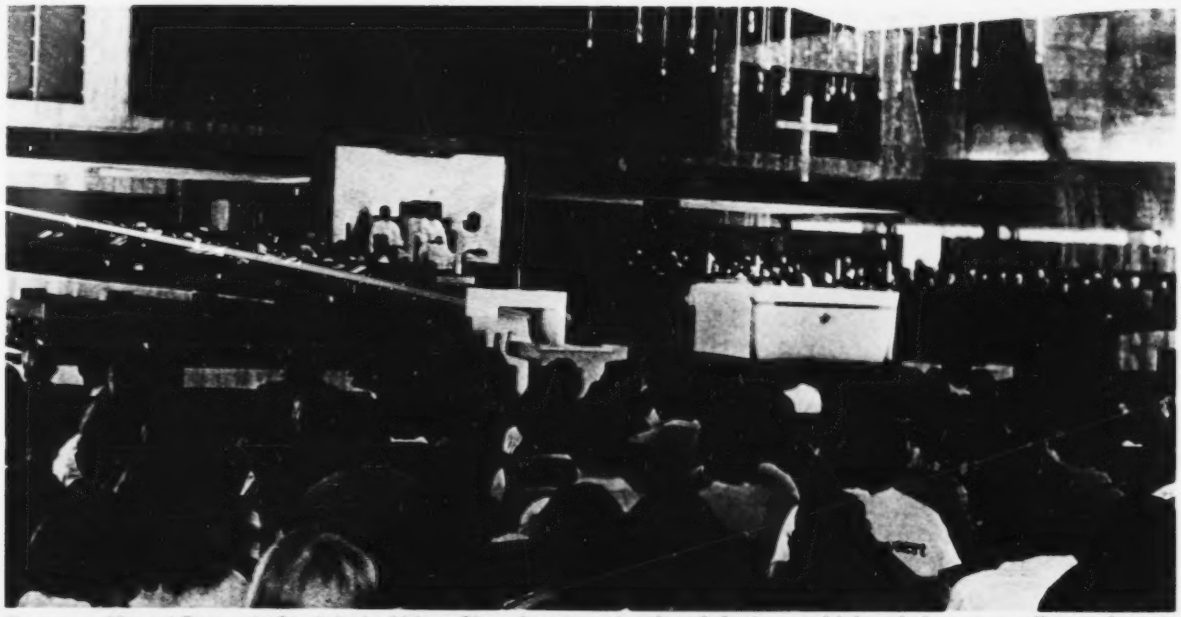


Germany and Minnesota compared: The new liturgical style advancing the access of the laity to the altar. St. Michael's Church completed at Berlin in 1961 (St. John's Abbey Archives).

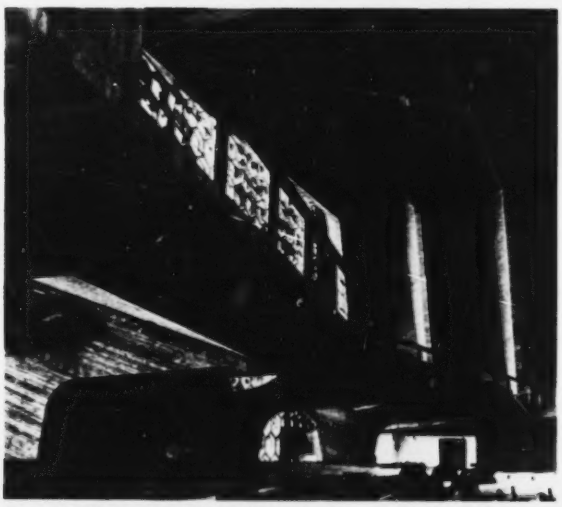
Germany and Minnesota compared: St. Michael's Church, Berlin, constructed out of simple industrial materials in 1961 (St. John's Abbey Archives).

religious communities, and by the 1950's among the American bishops: "One of the most revealing experiences that we at Saint John's can have is to meet visitors here or strangers in other parts of the land for whom our apostolate evokes a modern dream, a dignity, and a dedication that has been actually realized and from which emanate dynamic and inspiring ideals and achievements for the finest hopes of humanity and for the Catholic church."[29]

The revolutionary abbey church completed at Saint John's in 1961 became a concrete embodiment of these ideals. In the construction of this church Germany made its final contribution to St. John's, and through St. John's to American ecclesiastical architecture generally. Marcel Breuer built the abbey church and eight other structures at St. John's. The man with whom Breuer was associated longest was Walter Gropius, the founder of the Bauhaus. Breuer arrived at the Bauhaus in Weimar at the age of 18. Four years later he was placed in charge of the Bauhaus carpentry shop at Dessau. At Saint John's Breuer



To many, Marcel Breuer's St. John's Abbey Church suggests a harsh factory, which only becomes alive and warm when the people fill it up with the common work of worship. Is this Marcel Breuer's artistic parable of the meaning of the liturgical revival? (St. John's Abbey Archives).



The Bauhaus architect Marcel Breuer used the factory materials concrete, steel and glass to provide the Abbey with a great open church where monks and laity could gather together for corporate worship. Breuer's design unifies monastic choir, altar, and congregation into one space through the rhythmic repetition of starkly modern elements (St. John's Abbey Archives).

The revolutionary Abbey Church, completed at St. John's in 1961 by the Bauhaus architect Marcel Breuer, gave concrete expression to the ideals of the liturgical revival (St. John's Abbey Archives).

used Bauhaus concepts to provide a great open space where the corporate worship of monks and laity could take place. His design unifies monastic choir, altar, and congregation into this one space through the rhythmic repetition of structural elements.[30]

The international acclaim accorded Breuer's church was unprecedented in the history of modern ecclesiastical architecture. Periodicals of the United States, South America, Portugal, Spain, France, England, Italy, Japan, and the Philippines published views of the models, plans of the church, and hailed it as a sudden radical departure in church architecture. But the emergence of this great church was merely the final achievement of one hundred years of adaptation of German ideas in theology, liturgy, and architecture which had been taking place successfully in central Minnesota.[31]

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Notes

[1]Peter Foote, et al., eds., *Vatican II's Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* (New York 1969) 6. See also: G.C. Berkowver, *The Second Vatican Council and the New Catholicism* (Grand Rapids 1965) and Bernard C. Pawley, *The Second Vatican Council* (New York 1962).

[2]See Walter M. Abbot, *The Documents of the Vatican II* (New York 1966); Louis Bouyer, *The Liturgy Revived* (Notre Dame 1964); Theodor Filthaur, *Church Architecture and Liturgical Reform* (Baltimore 1968).

[3]On the secular revival of the ideal of "Community" in the nineteenth century see: Robert W. Gutman, *Richard Wagner: The Man, His Mind, and His Music* (London 1975); Jack Lindsay, *William Morris* (London 1975); William J. McGrath, *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven 1974); Paul Meier, *William Morris* (Harvester Press 1978); George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses* (New York 1975); Gillian Naylor, *The Bauhaus* (London 1968); Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design* (London 1966); David Watkin, *Morality and Architecture* (Oxford 1977).

[4]On Möhler see: Serge Bolshakoff, *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Church in the Works of Khomyakov and Möehler* (London 1946); Alexander Dru, *The Church in the 19th Century: Germany 1800-1918* (London 1963); J.R. Geiselmann, *Die theologische Anthropolgie Johann Adam Möhlers* (Freiburg 1955); H.R. Nienaltowski, *J.A. Möhler's Theory of Doctrinal Development: Its Genesis and Formulation* (Washington 1959); Hervé Savon, *J.A. Möhler. The Father of Modern Theology* (Glen Rock 1966).

[5]Principal works of Möhler to see: *Die Einheit in der Kirche*, 2nd ed. (Mainz 1925); *Symbolism: or, Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants as evidenced by their Symbolical Writings*, James B. Robertson, trans. (New York 1844); ".Uber die neueste Bakämpfung der katholischen Kirche," *Münschener Politische Zeitung* 1838).

[6]There were three contributions of the Tübingen School to the Beuronese Congregation: communal ecclesiology, patristic studies, and the scientific grounding of liturgical research. Perhaps the last is most important and accounts for an emphasis on scholarship in the congregation. Seven of the first generation of choir monks at Beuron studied at Tübingen. The most important representative of the scientific spirit of Tübingen at Beuron was the great researcher Suitbert Bäumer. Beuron was founded by Maurus and Placidus Wolter who were rebuffed in the German dioceses, until Princess Catherine von Hohenzollern sold most of what she owned to restore and endow the dissolved Augustinian house of Beuron on the out-skirts of the Black Forest in the tiny principality of Hohenzollern. The most important figure at Maria Laach was Ildefons Herwegen, who was abbot from 1914 to 1946. Through his first conferences with monks of Maria Laach in 1914, the *Akademikerverband* of German Catholic intellectuals which flourished in the 1920's, his international institute for research in liturgy and monastic history which by 1930 needed rooms for forty visiting monks, his thirty historical and theological pamphlets, Abbot Herwegen had enormous influence in the German, Benedictine, and international Catholic spheres.

[7]On the influence of Beuron and Maria Laach see my article "The Nineteenth Century Liturgical Movement," (*Worship*, volume 53, no. 1, January 1979), 12-39; Paul Wenzel, *Der Freundeskreis um Anton Günther und die Gründung Beurons* (Essen 1965); Emmanuel v. Severus, *Was Haltet Ihr von der Kirche?* (Münster 1976).

[8]On the influence of the Schott missal see: Alois Dangelmaier, *P. Anselm Schott* (Reimlingen 1971); J. Uttenweiler, *Die Geschichte des Laienmessbuches von P. Anselm Schott* (Freiburg 1935); D. Zähringer, *Das Messbuch für den Laien* (Freiburg 1959).

[9]In 1866 a young artist Peter Lenz came to Beuron. He was experiencing the tyrannic oppression of revived styles in religious art and architecture. Lenz joined the monastery and revolted against the influence of the Renaissance. As the monk Desiderius Lenz he sought entry into the spirit of the art of the Middle Ages as well as into the spirit of religious community which had produced this art. Lenz forged an austere style of painting and design to serve the new concepts of communal liturgy at Beuron. Lenz created the so-called "Beuronese style." On Desiderius Lenz see: Mark Steven Walker, *The Desiderian Canon* (Salt Lake City 1974) and Marus Pfaff, *P. Desiderius Peter Lenz. Der Meister von Bueron (Beuron 1978).*

[10]Faced with the ban of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, Beuron was forced to plant new outposts outside of Germany. The greatest of these was the Belgian Abbey of Maredsous, of which Placidus Wolter was abbot from 1878 to 1890. At the accession of Wilhelm II, Beuron once again founded monasteries in Germany.

[11]Ildefons Herwegen, "The Nature of Religious Art" (*Liturgical Arts*, I, 1931) 1-6. It was in the industrial districts of the Ruhr that liturgy was used most successfully to revive parish life. The church of Maria-Gebury in Mülheim is an example of an industrial district parish renewed through the spirit of the liturgy in the 1920's. Here Herwegen preached annually from 1924. Dom Willibrord Ballman, O.S.B., taught the laity to sing Gregorian chant. Pastor Konrad Jakobs explained the details of the liturgy in thirty sermons from 1925 to 1931. Annual communions rose from 140,000 in 1921 to 182,000 in 1931. In 1929 the church building of Maria-Geburt had to be replaced by a radical new structure "because of the pulsating new life in the parish." See M.V. Hopmann, *Pastor Jakobs* (Freiburg 1955).

[12]Louis Bouyer, *La Vie de la liturgie (Paris 1956), 327-329. Three works of Dom Odo Casel which expand on this topic: Das christlich Opfermysterium* (Cologne 1968); *Das christliche Kult Mysterium* (Regensburg 1960); *Die Liturgie als Mysterienfeier* (Freiburg 1923). On Casel see: André Gozier, *Dom Casel* (Paris 1968).

[13]On Guardini: H.V. von Balthasar, *Romano Guardini* (Munich 1970); Henri Engelmann, *Romano Guardini* (Paris 1966); Helmut Kuhn, *Romano Guardini* (Munich 1961); on the Oratorians: Alfons Kirchgässner, "Das Oratorium in Deutschland," *Oratorium* 2, no. 2 (VII-XII, 1971), 95-115; and on the Fronleichnamkirche in Aachen: Romano Guardini, "Die neuerbaute Fronleichnamskirche in Aachen," *Die Schildgenossen* 17 (1930).

[14]For the German Right see: Klemens von Klemperer, *Germany's New Conservatism* (Princeton 1957); Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (Garden City 1965). For the German Left see: Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1910-1945* (Cambridge 1968). For Guardini and the Christian "Middle Way" see: Klaus Breuning, *Die Vision des Reiches (1929-1934)* (Munich 1969); Romano Guardini, "Das Erwachender Kirche in der Seele," *Hochland*, 19 II (1922), *Meditations Before Mass* (Westminster 1955), *Neue Jugend und katholischer Geist* (Wiesbaden 1924), *The Spirit of the Liturgy* (London 1930); Heinrich Lutz, *Demokratie in Zwielicht. Der Weg der deutschen Katholiken aus dem Kaiserreich in die Republik* (Munich 1963).

[15]Theodor Maas-Ewerd, *Liturgie und Pfarrei* (Paderborn 1969) 67. See: Ferdinand Kolbe, *Die Liturgische Bewegung* (Aschaffenburg 1964).

[16]Karl Rahner, Mario von Galli, Otto Baumhauer, *Reformation aus Rom* Tübingen 1967); Xavier Rynne, *Vatican Council II* (New York 1968); Fritz Viering, *Christus und die Kirche in römisch-katholischen Licht. Ekklesiologische Probleme zwischen dem ersten und zweiten vatikanischen Konzil* (Göttingen 1962).

[17]The Sacerdotal Communities of Saint-Severin of Paris, *Le Renouveau liturgique* (Paris 1960), 131.

[18]St. John's Abbey grew at this rate: 1865 - 5, 1866 - 12, 1875 - 52, and 1889 - 104; the University grew at this rate: 1867 - 28, 1868 - 51, 1870 - 80, 1875 - 130, and 1889 - 350.

[19]The first real liturgist at St. John's was Fr. Francis Mershman, O.S.B., who compiled *A Handy Manual of Pontifical Ceremonies* in 1904 and wrote 120 articles on liturgical subjects for the first edition of the Catholic Encyclopedia.

[20]Br. Clement Frischauf, O.S.B., had been trained in the Beuronese style of Desiderius Lenz at the Abbey of Seckau in Austria. Frischauf worked with other Beuronese monks on the decorations for the crypt chapels at Monte Cassino. The apse at Maria Laach was his inspiration for painting the apse at St. John's.

[21]Alcuin Deutsch, "The Liturgical Movement, *Emmanuel*, 32 (August 1926), 239. Deutsch came from Assumption parish in St. Paul to St. John's in 1890. Deutsch studied in Europe from 1897 to 1903, and there absorbed the German Benedictine liturgical revival. He was particularly influenced by the Beuronese monk-brothers, Pius and Hildebrand Bihlmeyer and his classmate at San' Anselmo in Rome, Ildefons Herwegen.

[22]Paul Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement* (Collegeville 1957), 33. Virgil Michel was born in St. Paul in 1890 and died at St. John's in 1938. His most importatn book on liturgy is *The Liturgy of the Church* (Collegeville 1937). For an excellent analysis of the theology of Virgil Michel see: Jeremy Hall, *The Full Stature of Christ* (Collegeville 1976).

[23]See these works of Virgil Michel which connect liturgy to questions of economic life and social justice: *Christian Social Reconstruction* (Milwaukee 1937); *The Social Problem*, Books I-IV (Collegeville 1936-1938); *St. Thomas and Today* (St. Paul 1935); *The Christian in the World* (St. Paul 1937).

[24]Colman J. Barry, *Worship and Work* (Collegeville 1980), 272-273.

[25]*Ibid.* 272. Other German-American liturgical pioneers who were strongly influenced by St. John's were Rev. William Busch of St. Paul, Rev. Martin Hellriegel of St. Louis, Rev. H.A. Reinhold who wrote commentaries for *Worship* for many years, and Rev. Bede Maler, O.S.B., of St. Meinrad Abbey who edited the Eucharistic monthly *Paradiesesfrüchte* for thirty years.

[26]*Ibid.* 270. Throughout this period other St. John's monks continued to study in Germany: Fr. Conrad Diekmann studied theology and art at Munich, Fr. Paschal Botz completed advanced work in theology at Tübingen with Karl Adam, and Fr. Godfrey Diekmann attended the Liturgical Academy at Maria Laach Abbey.

[27]"Come, let us reminisce. . .," *Popular Liturgical Library Golden Anniversary Catalog* (Collegeville 1976), 6.

[28]*Ibid.* 5.

[29]*Ibid.* 6.

[30]Marcel Breuer was chosen as architect by St. John's in April 1953. In January 1954 Breuer announced his *100 Year Plan* for St. John's. He completed the following buildings for the Abbey and Unviersity: 1955 - Monastery, 1959 - Thomas Hall, 1961 - Abbey Church, 1964 - Alcuin Library, 1965 - Science Center, 1967 - Bernard, Patrick, Boniface Halls, 1968 - Ecumenical Center, and 1975 - Bush Center.

[31]On Breuer and St. John's see Marcel Breuer, *Buildings and Projects, 1921-1961* (New York 1963); Christopher Wilk, *Marcel Breuer: Furniture and Interiors* (New York 1981); Whitney S. Stoddard, *Adventure in Architecture: Building the New Saint John's* (New York 1958).

The German Impact on Modernism in Art

by Melvin Waldfogel

"A Special Relationship," the term used in the title of this conference, is defined in art history as the influence that one culture (or artist) exerts on the art of another. To demonstrate such a relationship, one would have to show similarities in style, and to make a really convincing case provide concrete evidence that art made at point A was transmitted to point B or that artists who were party to such a relationship had access to each other's work. For the period under discussion here, 1945 to present, the evidence of a special relationship between contemporary Germany and Minnesota in painting and the related arts is scant. However, repercussions of earlier German art have been felt and have had a demonstrable influence, both on artists practicing here and on the public's perception of art. Thus I intend to direct my observations to earlier art, at time going back to the nineteenth century, and I will view the "relationship" more broadly as an American one, and not limited to Minnesota.

It is widely known that art suffered irreparable damage under the National Socialists in Germany. Already in the mid-1930s articles appeared both in Europe and in this country decrying the barbarous actions of the Nazis aimed at the "purification" of German art.[1] Only once before, during the Thirty Years War, had art been so interrupted in Germany, but then as an accidental consequence of upheaval rather than as a policy of statecraft. For more than a decade under the Nazis, modern art was treated as contraband in Germany, with the result that its leading artists went underground or left the country. The few modernists who remained in Germany retired to the countryside or worked in secret, constantly fearing detection. Although many of them immigrated to the United States, where they continued their work, they did so in isolation. Without their own journals, a center of operation, and the opportunity for dialogue, an evolution of style was hardly possible, nor were these artists in a position to exert significant influence on a body of younger artists. In some fields — notably science, academic research, architecture, music, psychiatry and to some extent literature and theater — Germany's loss was our gain, but the case is quite different in the pictorial arts for reasons I can touch on only briefly here.

Art Orientation French

During the first half of this century, our orientation in the fine arts, and especially in painting, was decidedly French. To American artists and critics, France was synonymous with excellence in the arts, and it was to Paris they looked for guidance and inspiration. In the period immediately following the First World War, Paris became the center of American creativity. It was there that painters and writers gathered, the latter to escape the Philistinism and provincialism of their own country and the former to bask in the aura of Matisse and Picasso. The point of convergence for both writers and artists was the salon of Gertrude Stein.

Much the same adulatory attitude towards France prevailed in the academic world. I recall the reaction of my adviser in graduate school in the early 1950s when I announced that I planned to write a dissertation on modern German painting. No, he said, that wouldn't be a very good idea; one ought to work on something significant. It did not take me very long to get the drift of things. A week later I returned with a French topic and received his blessing, which ironically was given in heavily accented English. Like so many of my teachers, he was an immigrant who had arrived from Germany in the preceding decade. When I met him years later — he was then in his eighties — I hesitated to tell him that I had long been teaching specialized courses on modern German painting. I was afraid he would be disappointed in me.

Critics Ignored Max Beckmann

If one searches the writings of major American art critics for the quarter century following the Second World War, few positive references to German art will be found, perhaps with the exception of Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky.

Figure 1 — Max Beckmann, *Blind Man's Buff*. 1945 (Minneapolis Institute of Arts)

In Barbara Rose's *American Art since 1900*, a widely used text on modern American art, they are the only artists of the German school frequently cited, probably because of their assimilation of French artistic ideas and the prominence they achieved as teachers at the Bauhaus. The degree to which American critics were indifferent to German art, or even hostile to it, can best be illustrated by their treatment of Max Beckmann. Barbara Rose mentions him once: as a possible source for a group of artists who were hardly in the mainstream of American art. In my opinion, Beckmann was a giant among twentieth century artists, and I believe that in time his name will be linked with Rembrandt, Goya and the other great philosophic artists of the past. Yet, even though Beckmann spent the last three years of his life in this country, he was largely ignored in New York. But, I'm happy to say, not in Minnesota.[2] One of his greatest works, *Blind Man's Buff*, has been on display at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts for as long as I can recall.[3] (Fig. 1) Other major modern German artists, especially members of the *Brücke* or Bridge Group, and their friends, who worked in Dresden and Berlin early in the century, are also well represented at the Institute.

The Minneapolis Art Institute has contributed to our awareness of modern German art in other ways as well. Two years ago, in an exhibition entitled *German Realism of the Twenties*, the museum provided the American public with its first comprehensive survey of the painting produced during the Weimer Republic. New York critics came out to see the show, among them Hilton Kramer, who reported on the exhibition favorably in a lengthy article in the *New York Times*.[4] Thus there is good evidence that we are overcoming our French bias, and beginning to look at modern German art with more open minds.

Political Power — Cultural Influence

However, if we ask in what way specifically German art produced during the last thirty or forty years has influenced the practice of art in this country, I'm afraid that we shall have to answer resoundingly in the negative. I think it can be stated as an axiom of history that political power and cultural influence go hand in hand. The Americanization of Europe in recent years is a phenomenon too well known and accepted to need explication here. Along with our life style, we have also transmitted to Western Europe our conceptions and theories of art. Major collections of American art have been formed in Germany, and works have been acquired by German museums, sometimes at record-setting prices. I saw my first Andy Warhol film not in this country but in Germany, where I was on sabbatical in 1970. I also recall the extensive coverage of American art that appeared regularly in the weekend issues of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, the most respected south German newspaper. Through the media in Germany, America's cultural stars have become Germany's as well. There are exceptions to the prevailing flow from our shores to Germany, but they have to do with individuals rather than styles or concepts of art. Joseph Beuys and Otto Piene, two advanced German artists, have achieved recognition here. Piene's light works have been shown twice at the Walker Art Center, in an independent show in 1969 and again in 1976 in

connection with the museum's Mississippi exhibition. Otherwise, German presence on the American art scene has been slight and the influence of its recent art virtually non-existent. But it has not always been that way.

One of the most cherished images in this country, and one that is deeply imbedded in our historical consciousness, is the picture of *Washington Crossing the Delaware*. (Fig.2) Is it an American picture? I'm not sure. The style is clearly that of Düsseldorf, where the picture was painted about 1850, but the subject, of course, is American. The artist, Emanuel Leutze, was a transplanted German who was brought up in Philadelphia.[5] He returned to Germany in 1841 to enroll in the Art Academy at Düsseldorf and subsequently became a leading member of its artistic community. The choice of Düsseldorf was dictated neither by sentiment nor nostalgia for the *Heimat*, but rather by professional considerations. At mid-century Düsseldorf was highly esteemed as an art center, and probably attracted as many American art students as Paris.[6] A painter as characteristically American as George Caleb Bingham, known for his scenes of frontier life and the newly-settled territories of mid-nineteenth-century America, spent two or possibly three years studying in Düsseldorf.

Munich had Important Role

Our image of Minnesota in the last century owes much to an antiquarian book entitled *Das illustrierte Mississippi thal*, which includes among its illustrations views along the river in Minnesota.

Figure 3 — Henry Lewis lithograph of a view along the Mississippi River (Minnesota Historical Society)

(Fig. 3) It was the work of Henry Lewis, an American, but it was published in Düsseldorf, where Lewis settled in 1853 and remained until his death in 1904. Another artist who is associated with Minnesota, Eastman Johnson, spent the years 1849-1851 as a student in Düsseldorf.[7]

The city of Munich also played an important role in the development of American painting.[8] It was there, beginning in the 1879s, that many young American art students first encountered a new form of realism that was sweeping through Europe. Originating in Paris about 1850 in the atelier of Gustave Courbet, it carried revolutionary connotations, political as well as artistic. Some American artists who studied abroad chose to

Figure 2 — Emanuel Leutze, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*. 1851 (Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Figure 3a — Frank Duveneck, *Lady with a Fan.* 1873 (Metropolitan Museum of Arts)

Figure 3b — Wilhem Leibl, *Portrait of His Niece, Lina Kirchdorffer.* 1871 (Bayrische Staatsgemadesammlugen, Munich)

remain in Germany. Others returned to the United States, and as teachers helped to disseminate a modernist style that was well in advance of what was then being taught in art schools in this country. Frank Duveneck, who settled in Cincinnati on his return to America, provides a good example of the transplanted Munich style. We can see how characteristically Munich his work is by juxtaposing his *Lady with a Fan* (Metropolitan Museum), 1873, with the *Portrait of Lina Kirchdorffer* (Bavarian State Gallery), painted just two years earlier by Wilhelm Leibl, the seminal figure in Munich Realism. (Figs. 3a, 3b) They share in common a detachment towards the sitter, robust paint handling, and a predilection for a sketch-like finish.

When a consciously realist movement began to emerge in New York at the turn of the century (I am referring to the Ash Can School), the style it adopted — although a complex phenomenon in that it had American as well as European roots — undoubtedly owed something to Munich Realism. My colleagues who specialize in American art insist that the Ash Can School's European precedents can be localized in France, but I find it hard to discount the presence in New York, at the time, of celebrated artist-teachers trained in Munich.[9]

A stronger case can probably be made for German influence in cities like Cincinnati and Milwaukee, where a lively German culture survived well into this century. One Milwaukee artist who served as an artistic link between Germany and America was Robert Koehler, best known now for his painting of the Pittsburgh railroad strike of 1877. (Fig. 4) Koehler spent fifteen years in Munich. Two years after his return, in 1894, he was appointed director of the Minneapolis School of Art. *The Strike* was purchased by the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts in 1901; in spite of its controversial subject, it was placed in the main library, then located on Hennepin Avenue. Money for the purchase was raised by public subscription. In 1971 this painting, which had not been on display for many years and had suffered damage as a result of improper storage, was sold to a New York collector. It made a brief return to Minneapolis in 1976 on the occasion of the University of Minnesota Gallery's Bicentennial exhibition, *Painting and Sculpture in Minnesota, 1820 - 1914.* Other works by Koehler are still in the collection of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Modern German Art Overlooked

I think it is fair to say that between 1900 and 1950 modern German art was, with very few

exceptions, ignored, unnoticed and unknown in this country.[10] Exhibitions were rare and few museums could number significant examples among their accessioned works. One of the best collections was at the Busch-Reisinger Museum at Harvard, which, since its inception early in the century, had specialized in German art. Paradoxically, the status of modern German art was even less favorable in Germany and access to it virtually impossible — with one notable exception. In 1937 a large and highly publicized exhibition of modern art opened under government auspices in the new galleries of the Haus der Kunst in Munich.[11] All the major modern artists were represented, French as well as German, but as the title clearly indicates— *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) — its purpose was not eulogy but condemnation. The regime's intent was to destroy modernism in German by imputing to it non-Germanic, culturally cancerous and Jewish characteristics. As an exercise in cultural purification — and at the same time raise money for artistic projects acceptable to the state — 125 of the 737 works exhibited were subsequently sold at auction in Switzerland, but not before the exhibition had been moved to Berlin for the further edification of the German people.[12]

The exhibition and sale leave no doubt as to the Nazi attitude towards modern art. But the fact that not a single German painting was purchased directly from the auction for an American collection also tells us something about attitudes here. I believe that few, if any, of the works of the great German Impressionist, Lovis Corinth, which had been brought to this country by his widow and son, were sold during their lengthy stay here. One shining exception to the general rule of neglect was the large collection of Kandinskys assembled for the Guggenheim Museum by the Baroness Rebay, but whether Kandinsky, nothwithstanding his long association with the Bauhaus, was a German artist or not is open to question

Change of Attitude After 1950

Nevertheless, a change of attitude could be detected in the early 1950s; not a ground swell, but in professional circles the names of German artists came up in conversation and their works were beginning to be discussed in art history courses. I can only speculate on the reasons for the change. A key factor undoubtedly was the growing interest in Abstract Expressionism, the style then on the ascendant in this country. Although centered in New York, it was widely accepted because it appeared to many to mark the coming of age of American art. Expressionism has long been regarded as an inherent quality of German art; in fact, the term is often used as a catch-all for modern German painting.[13] In contrast, French painting, which dominated the

Figure 4 — Robert Koehler, *The Strike*. 1896 (From a *Harpers Weekly* engraving)

Figure 5 — Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Seated Woman* (Franzl). 1910 (Minneapolis Institute of Arts)

American scene between the wars, is, as one might expect, *not* Expressionist. The shift in style in New York toward great expressiveness probably had a great deal to do with an awakened interest in German painting. American museums began showing German painting but most often the exhibitions were in the interior of the country rather than in New York.[14] A case in point was the exhibitioin of *German Expressionism in Art* organized by the University of Minnesota Gallery in 1951.

Four years later the Walker Art Center presented *Expressionism, 1900 - 1955*, and although the works shown transcended national boundaries, a number of the by-then-legendary German expressionists were included. Further evidence of the awakened interest was the acquisition, beginning in the mid-1950s, by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts of a number of important paintings. Richard Davis, who was then director, also added substantially to the Institute's graphic holdings.

Obviously such works could not be acquired or borrowed by museums for exhibitions unless a supply were available. The works came from émigré dealers, some of whom offered their wares from suitcases; others, notably Curt Valentin, achieved prominence as dealers in New York. I remember visiting Valentin's gallery in 1952 and feeling very much like a devotee in a shrine. The gallery was on East 57th street, on an upper floor, and at the time was given over entirely to the work of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, the linch-pin of the entire German Expressionist movement. Four of the paintings in that exhibition were soon to move to the walls of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, where they are still to be seen.[15] (Figs. 5-8) One

Figure 6 — Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Modern Bohemia*. 1924 (Minneapolis Institute of Arts)

Figure 7 — Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Dresden Schlossplatz*. 1926 (Minneapolis Institute of Arts)

Figure 8 — Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Bern with Belltower*. 1930 (Minneapolis Institute of Arts)

Figure 9 — Franz Marc, *The Large Blue Horses*. 1911 (Walker Art Center, Minneapolis)

other important German painting which came to Minneapolis quite early is Franz Marc's *Blue Horses*, acquired by the Walker Art Center in 1942. (Fig. 9) An earlier show of Kirchner's work, organized by Valentin, was the first for the artist in the United States. This was in 1937, at the time of the notorious exhibition of *Entartete Kunst*, and a year before Kirchner's death.

Dealers Agents of Change

Dealers like Curt Valentin, or the peripatetic Herr Blau I recall meeting in the print room of the Fogg Museum about 1950, can also be assumed to have been agents of change in American print-making. The woodcut shown in figure 10 is the cover of the catalogue for the Kirchner exhibition at the Valentin Gallery in 1952. Typical of Kirchner's method of working the wood surface is the stark contrast of black and white, the rather childlike figures, and the blatantly primitive technique. Although not originated by Kirchner — it had its precedents in the German medieval woodcut and had been used effectively by both Paul Gauguin and Edvard Munch — the woodcut evolved in his hands into a consummate vehicle for expressing primal feelings. In spite of its repeated use by German artists (going back to the beginning of the century), it appears to have become widespread in the United States only after World War II, and again, as is the case with the growing enthusiasm for German painting, owes

Figure 10 — Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, woodcut for cover of exhibition at Valentin Galley in 1952.

its adoption by American artists in some measure to the dissemination of prototypes by émigré dealers.

The presence of a large number of artists who immigrated to the United States prior to World War II also helped to create a favorable climate for German art.[16] A contingent of artists came from the Bauhaus: Lyonel Feininger, Herbert Bayer, Lazlo Moholy-Nagy, and Josef Albers. Max Beckmann, as mentioned earlier, arrived after the war, in 1947; and many lesser-known artists also sought refuge here. Perhaps the reason their influence was not more immediate is that they were scattered around the country. Moholy-Nagy was in Chicago, where he died in 1946; Beckmann in St. Louis; Albers at Black Mountain College, in North Carolina until 1950, and then at Yale for the next ten years.

Figure 11 — Cameron Booth, (University of Minnesota Photo Service)

It was as artist-teachers that they exerted their greatest influence. Moholy-Nagy founded the New Bauhaus in Chicago. Max Beckmann held two successive teaching posts, first at Washington University in St. Louis and then briefly at the Brooklyn Museum Art School. Another émigré painter, Karl Zerbe, taught a generation of artists in Boston, where he was head of the painting department at the Museum School from 1937 to 1954. George Grosz, whose trenchant satires were too strong even for Weimar Germany, was on the staff of the Art Students' League in New York.

Hans Hoffman Most Influential

But by far the most influential of the artist-

Figure 12 — Cameron Booth, *Landscape.* 1943 (owned by the artist; University of Minnesota Photo Service).

Figure 13 — Jo Lutz Rollins (University of Minnesota Photo Service).

Figure 14 — Jo Lutz Rollins, *Figure Study*. 1930 (owned by the artist; University of Minnesota Photo Service)

teachers was Hans Hoffman, whose reputation as an inspirational teacher preceded his arrival in this country in the early thirties. From 1915 to 1932 he had directed his own school in Munich. Unlike other art schools which taught skills, Hoffman's instruction was concerned with the principles of abstract art. Among his students in Munich were two Minnesota artists, the late Cameron Booth and Jo Lutz Rollins, who is still active at the age of eighty-six[17] (Figs. 11-14) A retrospective exhibition recently held at the College of St. Catherine in St. Paul celebrated sixty-four years of Mrs. Rollins' career as an artist. One of the works in that exhibition harks back to 1930, to the time when she was enrolled in Hofmann's school in Munich.

Ultimately it was as a teacher in New York, where Hofmann reopened his school in 1934, that he was to exercise his greatest influence. If one were to select one factor only which shaped the development of abstract painting in New York at mid-century, it would certainly be the presence of Hans Hoffman and his close association with the rising artists of the Abstract Expressionist movement. A few years ago the University of Minnesota Gallery organized a modest teaching exhibition which traced Hoffman's influence through three generations of American artists, all of whom have, incidentally, worked in Minnesota.

I regret that more has not been said about Minnesota, but at a time when innovations travel quickly and we are all linked by instantaneous communication, ideas have international currency. None of us lives in isolation, least of all artists, whose pictorial language is a universal one. The same styles are practised everywhere, even in Eastern Europe, where governments regard abstract art as subversive. A century ago regionalism was still common. Paris, Düsseldorf, Munich, London: each could boast a different style. Today, if works by Minneapolis artists were to be exhibited alongside pictures painted in any of these cities, it is doubtful that they could be differentiated on national lines. Whether regional or national styles will reappear in the future is difficult to say, but what is patently clear is that art is much the same now wherever Western culture reaches and is allowed to develop unimpeded by the state. Undoubtedly the relationship between Minnesota and Germany is special, but in the pictorial arts it is much more a matter of heritage and history than of present interaction.

Melvin Waldfogel received his doctorate in Fine Arts from Harvard University. He has taught at Colby College and Harvard, and since 1955 has been a member of the Department of Art History at the University of Minnesota. In recent years, he has also served as Director of the University of Minnesota Gallery. His special interest is European painting of the nineteenth century, and he has published on French and German art in many periodicals. In 1974 he was curator of a major exhibition of Victorian painting, in 1977 a panelist for *Cezanne, The Late Work* at the Museum of Modern Art, and in 1979 a consultant for *The Art of Russia, 1800-1850* which toured the United States.

Notes

[1]Günter Busch, *Entartete Kunst: Geschichte und Moral* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Societäts-Verlag, 1969), states that 1004 paintings and sculptures and 3825 watercolors and graphic works were destroyed. No accurate count is available for the number of works that left the country.

[2]The first major American retrospective of Beckmann's work was shown in St. Louis, Detroit, Baltimore, and Minneapolis in 1948.

[3]*Blind Man's Buff* was acquired by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in 1955.

[4]*New York Times*, October 5, 1980.

[5]Considering his importance to both American and German painting, the literature on Leutze is hardly voluminous. However, two mongraphs are available in English: R.H. Stehle, *The Life and Work of Emanuel Leutze* (Washington, D.C., 1976), and Barbara Groseclose, *Emanuel Leutze, 1816 - 1968: Freedom is the Only King*, exhibition catalogue, National Collection of Fine Arts (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1976). J.K. Howat, "Washington Crossing the Delaware," *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin,* March 1966, deals specifically with this one painting.

[6]The relationship between D*üsseldorf Academy and and the Americans* (Utica, N.Y.: Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, 1973), and *The Hudson and the Rhine: Die amerikanische Malerkolonie in Düsseldorf im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Kunsthalle Bielefeld, 1976). For further studies, both in English, see R.H. Stehle, "The Dusseldorf Gallery," *The New York Historical Society Quarterly*, October 1974, and John I. Bauer ed., "The Autobiography of Worthington Whittredge, 1820 - 1920," *Brooklyn Museum Journal*, 11 (1942). Stehle's article reconstructs the gallery of paintings from Düsseldorf opened in New York in 1849 by the German-American merchant, John Godfrey Boker (Johann Gottfried Böker). Worthington Whittredge spent the years 1849 - 1951 in Düsseldorf.

[7]Rena N. Coen's excellent survey, *Painting and Sculpture in Minnesota, 1820 - 1914* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1976), is the best source on German artists in Minnesota during the period covered by the book.

[8]The presence of American artists in Munich is the subject of *Munich and American Realism*, exhibition catalogue (Sacramento, Calif.: E.B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1978). Other sources are dissertations: Aloysius G. Weimer, *The Munich Period in American Art*, University of Michigan, 1940 and Michael Quick, *American Painters in Munich, 1870 - 85*, Yale University, in process. Although a specialized study of portraits, Robert Neuhaus's *Bildnismalerei des Leibl-Kreises* (Marburg, 1953), makes reference to a number of the Americans then working in Munich.

[9]William Merritt Chase, who studied in Munich 1871 - 8, was a highly successful artist and teacher in New York at the turn of the century.

[10]See Donald E. Gordon in Wulf Schadendorf ed., *Beiträge zur Rezeption der Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1975).

[11]The catalogue of that infamous exhibition has been reprinted in facsimile: *Entartete Kunst* (Redding, Conn.: The Silver Fox Press, 1972). An English translation is bound in the same cover. In 1962, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the exhibition, the Haus der Kunst was the site of a commemorative exhibition entitled *Entartete Kunst: Bildsturm vor 25 Jahren*. A number of studies on art under the Nazis have appeared since Paul Ortwin Rave's *Kunstdiktatur im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg, 1949). For an account in English, see Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Art under a Dictatorship* (New York, 1954).

[12]The sale was conducted by the Galerie Fischer in Lucerne on June 30, 1939. Only Picasso and Van Gogh fetched really high prices. A Kirchner painting went for Sfr. 750 and a Beckmann for 500.

[13]What differentiates German painters of the sixteenth century, say Dürer or Grüewald, from their Italian Renaissance contemporaries is precisely their expressionistic character. The same distinction can be madde when one compares Lovis Corinth, the German Impressionist, with Claude Monet.

[14]An exception was *German Art of the Twentieth Century*, shown at the Museum of Modern Art in 1957. No major exhibition of modern German art had been seen in New York since 1931, when MOMA organized the first such exhibition. A product of the 1957 exhibition was an excellent survey: Peter Selz, *German Expressionist Painting* (Berkeley, 1957).

[15]*Franzi*, acquired 1952; *Modern Bohemia*, gift of Curt Valentin, 1955; *Bern with* the *Belltower*, acquired 1961; *Dresden Schlossplatz*, acquired 1964.

[16]For an enumeration of who came and how they enriched American life, see Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants: The Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930/40* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

[17]H.H. Arnason, *Cameron Booth* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1961, and *Joe Lutz Rollins: Retrospective*, exhibition catalogue, Catherine G. Murphy Galleries (St. Paul: The College of St. Catherine, 1982).

German Rationalism in Modern American Architecture

by Gunter Dittmar

Architecture is an art that deals with life itself. Unlike other forms of art it not merely represents our world, or comments on it, but takes an active role in shaping it through the places where we live, work, and play. As one of man's most enduring creations, it is a mirror and a measure of man's condition and progress over time.

"Modern Architecture," the architectural style of the Twentieth Century, is no exception. Yet compared with previous periods in architecture, it presents an unusual phenomenon. For the first time in history a style was created as a deliberate, radical break with historical precedent. Its aim: to generate a totally new kind of architecture, one that was "true to its time," that would look to the future rather than emulate the past.

Reacting to the seemingly aimless revivalist and eclectric meandering of the previous 150 years, the protagonists of the Modern Movement rejected the legacy of centuries of architectural forms as corrupted and unfit for the tasks of the Twentieth Century. In contrast to previous styles, the "New Architecture" was conceived as a science rather than an art form. Its practitioners hoped to build an architecture on the principle of "value-free, universal truth," not on culturally-defined and time-bound beliefs or tastes. Beauty was to be in "truth" rather than the eye of the beholder. Modern Architecture was to be a style that would end all styles.

Beyond that, the Modernists were highly conscious of architecture as a social force. In character with the positivist *Zeitgeist* of the time, they attempted to postulate a direct link, a formula, between architecture and social well-being. Architecture was to fulfill a role in social engineering. Its forms were to be the physical, crystallized manifestation, the conduits of well-functioning social organisms — from the family to society, from the house to the metropolis.

Underlying this belief was a powerful utopian vision that through science and technology — and through architecture — a new world and a better society could be created. This vision found its symbolic model in the imagery of the machine, since the machine encapsulated in microcosmic form all the aspired notions in an ideal manner: functional efficacy, utilitarian beauty, and unlimited potential for the future.

U.S. and Europe Shared in Development

The formation and development of Modern Architecture was shared equally between the United States and Europe. It can perhaps best be described as a dialogue, at times competitive, at times complementary. The differing cultural backgrounds and attitudes provided useful counterpoints for this fruitful interaction: Europe with its rich tradition of rigorous, intellectual thought; America with its intuitive, somewhat romantic but pragmatic sense and youthful optimism. As a consequence many of the developments followed a similar pattern. The United States would take the first step; Europe would follow by defining the theoretical foundations expressed in the form of a prototype; and the United States would apply it and bring it to its practical conclusion and general acceptance.

Germany's role in this exchange was rather short-lived but proved to be of special significance. As the leading country in Modern Architecture during its most formative years, the 1920's, Germany was responsible for many of the concepts and ideas that found their way into its overall philosophy and formal solutions.

One of the reasons for this can be traced back to the German *Werkbund*, an energetic and enlightened association of artists, architects, and industrialists. They recognized early that the machine and modern technology would be the destiny of the Twentieth Century, and, therefore, they sought to overcome the rift that existed between art and industry and turn it to mutual advantage through cooperation.

To promote these notions and to demonstrate their potential to a general public the *Werkbund* sponsored and organized exhibitions at regular intervals in various cities throughout Germany. These exhibitions have become milestones in the history of the Modern Movement. Centered around a general theme, like "the modern home" or "the factory," the *Werkbund* tried to address

issues of general concern and to evolve architectural solutions that could serve as models for the future.

Typically, some of the leading and *avant garde* architects in Europe were invited to execute one or more of the buildings, many of them permanent structures. Each designer was then encouraged to explore new concepts and to test their architectural implications.

Social aspects were of special interest to the *Werkbund*, continuing Germany's long-standing tradition of social ideas and concerns. Together with the fact that the country was then also the leader in the sciences and one of the leading industrial nations, it is not surprising that Germany provided a fertile ground for "the alliance of science, technology, and social idealism" that has become one of the trademarks of Modernism.

Adverse Conditions Prompted Creativity

The seemingly adverse political, social, and economic conditions of the time actually proved to be contributing factors in the development of this highly creative period in German architecture. Among them were an idling industry, due to the lost war and an economic depression; a high demand for affordable housing, as a result of the industrialization and the destruction of much of the country; a strong, almost desperate belief in building a new and better future after the defeat in the war, the end of the Empire, and the demolition of the social structure.

In architecture, besides generating a number of pressing issues, this situation encouraged experiments and, especially, theoretical studies, since there were few commissions. Therefore it is no coincidence that the formative years of Modern Architecture occurred during this unique period of the Twentieth Century; that German architects were among its pioneers; and that two of the four so-called "Great Masters of Modern Architecture" — Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius — were of German origin. The other two were Le Corbusier, working out of France, and Frank Lloyd Wright. The Masters are generally credited with establishing Modern Architecture's theoretical foundations and typical form vocabulary.

The Modern Movement developed with a speed that was without parallel in the history of architectural styles. It matured over a period of only two decades. Within 40 years it had conquered the world, regardless of national boundaries, differing cultural traditions, and social and economic circumstances.

The consequences were dramatic. A completely novel architecture came into being and with it a whole new way of life. Familiar architectural forms and building types changed radically or were replaced by entirely new ones. Cities and neighborhoods underwent transformations at a pace and scale never experienced before. The impact was, perhaps, most intimately felt in the individual home, and were most obvious in the architecture of public institutions and the appearance of a new building type, the high rise.

Model-Illustration in Boston

A model-illustration of this breach between tradition and new thought can be found in Boston. There, juxtaposed in close proximity, are two buildings that are symbolic of the philosophic split and tremendous shift that occurred in the last century. On one side is Trinity Church, built 1873-77 by Henry Hobson Richardson, perhaps the foremost American architect of the Nineteenth Century; on the other side is the John Hancock Tower, built 1967-76 by I.M. Pei, a prominent current American architect of international fame. (Illustration 1)

Trinity Church is constructed of the ancient material of architecture, stone. Built by hand, block by block, each individually cut and shaped by a craftsman, it uses an architectural form vocabulary that took ages to evolve. Designed in

Illustration 1: Henry Hobson Richardson. Trinity Church 1873-77. I.M. Pei. John Hancock Tower, 1967-76. Boston. (Gunter Dittmar, University of Minnesota).

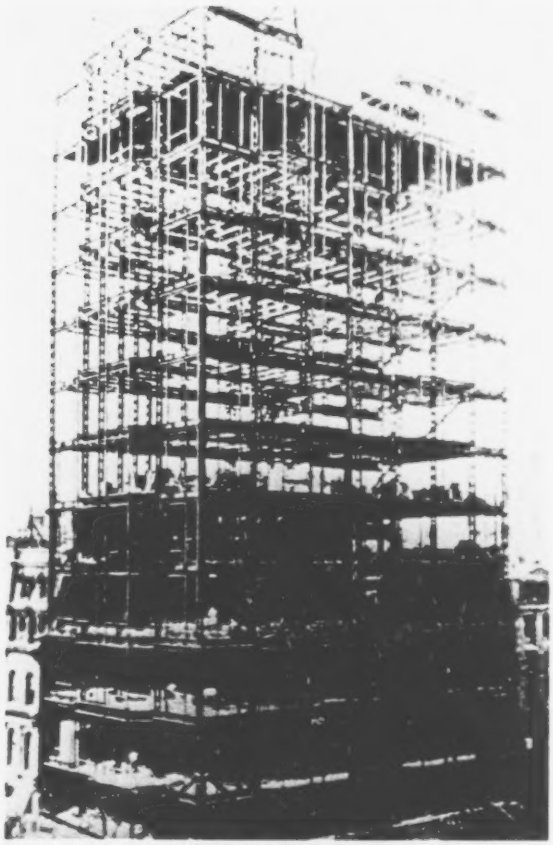

Illustration 2: "Chicago Construction". Steelframe of the Reliance Building, Chicago, Illinois. 1890-94. (School of Architecture, Universtiy of Minnesota).

Illustration 3: Daniel H. Burnham. Reliance Building, Chicago, Illinois, 1890-94. (Chicago Historical Society; Barnes and Crosby).

Neo-Romanesque style, it manifests the cummulative knowledge and artistic skill of hundreds of years of architectural development.

Hancock Tower, a sleek structure of steel and glass, was erected and assembled with the help of machines from industrially manufactured components. It is an expression of the calculated, rational order of modern science and the precision of high technology.

The church, the symbol of one of man's oldest institutions, once dominated the skylines of our cities. Together with the palace it was the foremost building task of the architect. Now the church is overshadowed by the other, a creation of the modern era: the skyscraper is the icon of the Twentieth Century.

Tall buildings, buildings that could reach the clouds, were an old dream of mankind — as evidenced by various mythologies. Yet it required the know-how of modern technology and the strength of new materials, steel and concrete, to build the first skyscraper.

Skyscraper Invented in Chicago

The invention of the skyscraper occurred in Chicago during the latter half of the Nineteenth Century as the consequence of a number of unusual circumstances. The great fire of 1871, coinciding with an economic boom, caused a high demand for space and fast construction. The invention of the elevator made it feasible to design buildings higher than four or five storeys. The

Illustration 4: Daniel H. Burnhan. Facade of the Reliance Building. Chicago, Illinois. 1890-94. (School of Architecture, University of Minnesota).

industrial development of iron and steel resulted in a new structural system, the modern "skeleton" or "Chicago Construction" as it was then known. The previously used construction technique of load-bearing walls of brick or stone had limited the height of buildings. Either the walls of the lower floors became so thick they did not leave enough usable space and sufficient window openings or the building was unable to support its own weight. By replacing the walls with a frame, a much lighter, faster, and more flexible structural system has become available. (Illustration 2) For this reason the frame has become the basis of all highrise construction and the structural system of Modern Architecture in general.

As a new building type, the skyscraper presented architecture with a great challenge, which was successfully met by a group of unusually talented designers. Among them were Le Baron Jenney, Adler and Sullivan, H.H. Richardson, and Burnham and Root. These men developed, within a very short period of time, the elegant, functional-aesthetic expression that was so much in character with this kind of structure: a light frame filled in with glass. It established their fame as the so-called "First Chicago School," the first truly modern movement in architecture. Many of their great buildings are still part of Chicago's skyline; a beautiful example is the Reliance Building, built in 1820-24 by Daniel Burnham. (Illustrations 3 and 4)

Since that time the skyscraper has undergone several transformations, but its basic structure has not changed. Its most ideal form-expression was developed in Germany in the early 1920's by Mies van der Rohe, one of the Masters of Modern Architecture. Short on commissions because of the economic depression after WWI, Mies undertook a number of theoretical studies that led to some of the most influential and visionary creations of Twentieth Century architecture. A building type that was of special interest to him and that he chose to investigate was the design of a glass-skyscraper. He began by abstracting its form to its two essential components: the skeleton and the facade. Instead of filling in the frame with glass or panels, as the Chicago architects had done, he hung the facade in front of the structure and wrapped it all around. Known today as a glass-curtainwall, it gave the skyscraper its sheer, smooth, and pristine appearance.

Glass As a Building Material

Glass as a building material held great fascination for the architects of the Modern Movement. Its transparency and reflective properties allowed them the de-materialization and abstraction of form and the visual integration between inside and outside that they so ardently desired. Mies was highly conscious of these aspects when he explored the architectural opportunities that this new use of glass provided. Thus, in his skyscraper he not only undulated the glass facade but also facetted the curtainwall. (Illustration 5)

Mies van der Rohe's design became the prototype for all skyscraper construction up to our time. The concepts that are manifest in it were realized only much later when the technology of the glass-curtainwall and its related problems of the interior enviroment — heating, cooling, lighting and acoustics — were sufficiently resolved. Today's skyscrapers have achieved these ideals to a very high degree, and they approach more and more the form of pure prisms of glass. Their facades have become more homogeneous and elegant with the reduction of mullions and subdividing elements to the minimum necessary to secure the glass panels. (Illustration 1)

The tinting and mirroring of glass, originally developed to reduce heat gain, have added a new dimension to the aesthetic aspects of frame construction explored by Mies. Not only do the buildings reflect and thus comment on the surrounding

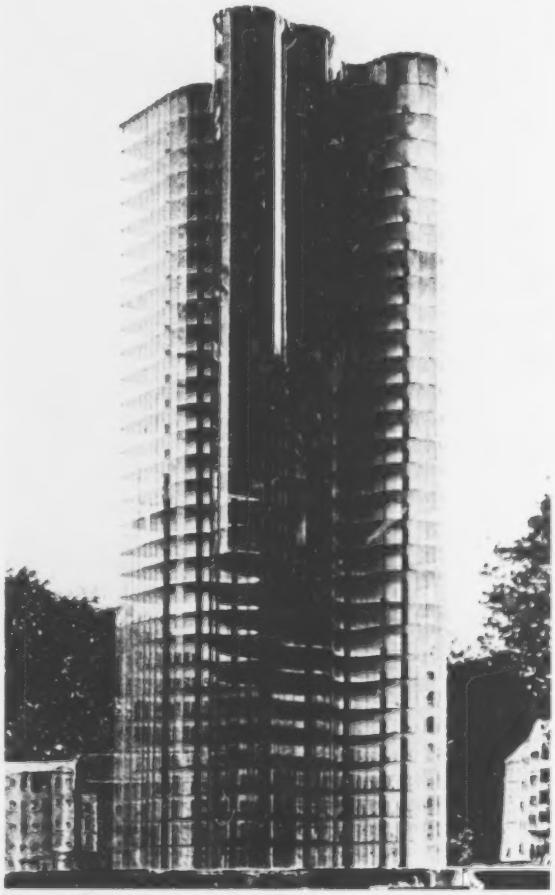

Illustration 5: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. Glass Skyscraper Project, 1922. Model. (Hedrich-Blessings, Chicago).

Illustration 6: Philip Johnson. IDS Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota 1971-72. (Oxford Properties Inc./Oxford Development Minnesota Inc., Minneapolis).

context: they change their appearance, depending on the sky, the season, and the time of day. An excellent example is the IDS Center in Minneapolis. (Illustration 6) This building has given the city a new symbol and its downtown area a new identity. It was designed by Philip Johnson, currently the most prominent American architect and an early admirer, disciple, and later associate of Mies van der Rohe's.

New Space Conception Significant

If the structural system of Modern Architecture, the skeleton or frame, was to a large degree the product of the development of the skyscraper, its complement, the new space conception, was intimately related to the evolution of the Modern House. The house has traditionally been a testing ground for new ideas, but for Modern Architecture it took on a special significance. The architects of the Modern Movement, and among them especially the Masters, believed the house to be the basic building block of a new society and a new way of life. As a result the Modern home became a central focus of their explorations and a major building-type of Modern Architecture.

In Europe the house was considered primarily a social problem, because of the shortage and high cost of housing. The solution was seen in a more functional and liberated layout, and in the use of industrial production and construction techniques. In America it was more a response to a new, more free and open style of life, and one more intimately related to nature.

The development of the Modern House, and particularly of the new concept of space, shows a striking parallel to that of the skyscraper: beginning in America, it is perfected in Europe and reaches its mature conclusion in the United States. Its origins can be traced back to Frank Lloyd Wright, the first and oldest of the Great Masters. In 1901 he designed — for the *Ladies Home*

Journal under the title "A Home in a Prairie Town" — the first of his famous Prairie Houses that ultimately would revolutionize the American home and prove to be the source of the "new space conception" in architecture.

These houses were intended for wealthy clients and were to be built in the open countryside; their most prominent feature was the "free or open plan." Usually based on a cruciform, T or L-shaped overall layout, the Prairie House was designed as a series of intercommunicating spaces rather than a composition of traditional rooms. (Illustration 7) Wright's "Organic Philosophy" integrated the house and its spaces as much as possible with the natural environment. This was typically achieved through a horizontal emphasis of the building: low-pitched, overhanging roofs that shelter terraces and porches and engage the horizon-line; various wings that reach out and embrace gardens, lawns and the open landscape; and the overall transparency created by the use of long, continuous windowbands. (Illustration 8)

This "new concept of space", combined with

Illustration 8: Frank Lloyd Wright. Robie House, Chicago, Illinois. 1908-09. (Frank Lloyd Wright Memorial Foundation).

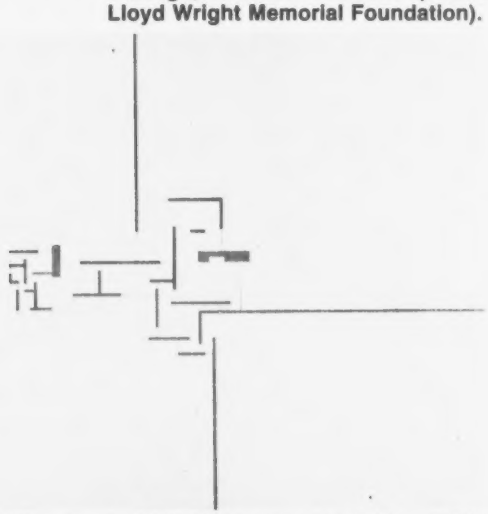

Illustration 9: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. Brick Country House Project. 1923. Plan. (Museum of Modern Art, NYC).

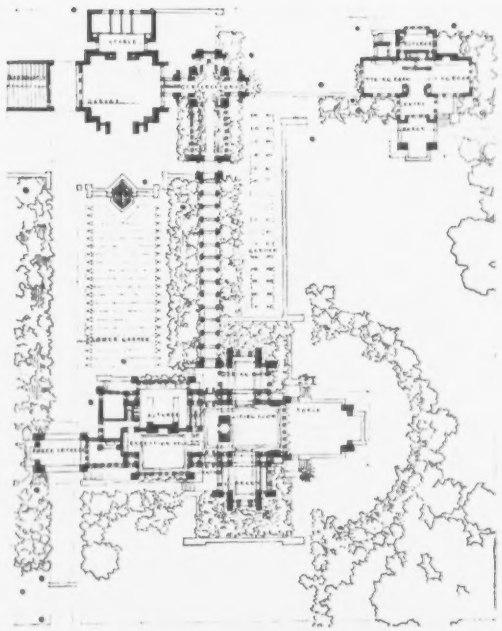

Illustration 7: Frank Lloyd Wright. Darwin D. Martin House, Buffalo, New York. 1904. Plan of entry level. (Frank Lloyd Wright Memorial Foundation).

the modern structural system of the frame, reached its most perfect and ideal expression in the German Pavilion for the 1929 Barcelona World's Fair. It has become a classic, not only of the Modern Movement but of architecture in general, and it established Mies van der Rohe as one of Modern Architecture's Great Masters.

Wright's Designs Influential in Europe

Wright's designs had a greater influence in Europe than within his own country. His work was well published and discussed, especially in Holland but also in Germany, France and the rest of Europe.

Mies van der Rohe was one of Wright's early admirers. As part of his famous theoretical studies in the early 1920's, he began to investigate the potential of the "free plan" and its spatial implications through the design of two "country-villas," one in brick and one in concrete. Again, as with his glass-skyscraper project, he simplified and reduced the architectural form to its most pure and essential expression: the wall is abstracted to a place. He then proceeded to generate the layout of the villa from free-standing planes placed perpendicular to each other, some of them continuing out into the surroundings. The spaces flow and merge into each other, and the definition between interior and exterior begins to break down. The whole environment must be perceived through movement; a fixed point of reference or enclosure no longer exists. Space and time become synonymous. (Illustration 9)

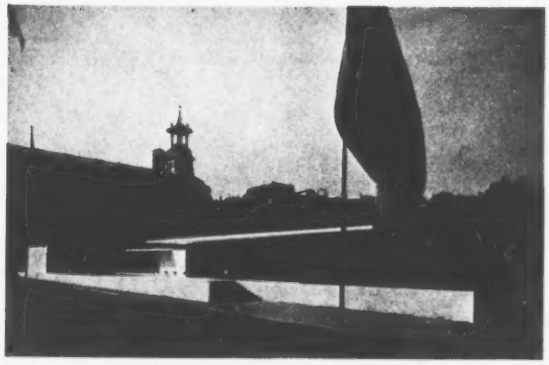

Illustration 10: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. German Pavilion at the International Exposition, Barcelona, Spain. 1929. (Museum of Modern Art, NYC).

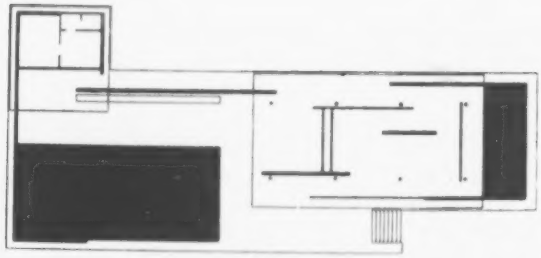

Illustration 11: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. German Pavilion at the International Exposition, Barcelona, Spain. 1929. Plan. (Museum of Modern Art, NYC).

Situated on a platform, the pavilion was an exquisite composition of vertical and horizontal planes — surfaces of two reflection pools play a vital role — that were arranged to create a series of interpenetrating spaces. The roof-plane that defined part of the design was supported by eight totally free-standing, chrome-plated columns participating in the architectural articulation on the inside. (Illustration 10 and 11). The "interior" was empty, with the exception of a strategically placed statue by sculptor Georg Kolbe and a few pieces of furniture designed by Mies to give a fixpoint to the flowing spaces. The elegance of the pavilion was derived from the preciousness of its materials (chrome, travertine, honey-colored onyx, green marble, leather, and tinted and frosted glass), from its delicate proportion, and from the unequalled precision of its detailing. (Illustration 12 and 13)

Illustration 12: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. German Pavilion at the International Exposition, Barcelona, Spain. 1929. Statue by George Kolbe. (Museum of Modern Art, NYC).

Illustration 13: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. German Pavilion at the International Exposition, Barcelona, Spain. 1929. (Museum of Modern Art, NYC).

Modern House Derives from "Organic Philosophy"

Back in the New World Frank Lloyd Wright was certainly among the architects who were influenced by the Barcelona Pavilion, although he never acknowledged it. Combining the principles of his "Organic Philosophy" with the structural potential of a new material (concrete), he created a composition that, though quite different, rivaled the beauty of the Barcelona Pavilion. Yet, unlike the pavilion — which was a statement of high technology and abstraction, set apart from nature — Wright's design is both in harmony with nature and in contrast to it. (Ilustration 14) Built in 1937 on top of a waterfall near Connellsville, Pennsylvania, "Falling Water" consists of a series of cascading platforms boldly cantilevered from a central core. The notions of the "open plan," originally developed for the Prairie Houses, have become much clearer, the spaces are more free, and the architectural form vocabulary has been transformed into a truly modern idiom. (Illustration 15)

"Falling Water" was a dream come true. As a singular event that defies repetition and as a great work of art, it has become one of the symbols of Twentieth Century architecture. More typical of the high standard that the Modern House had meanwhile achieved, especially in the United States after World War II, are the houses

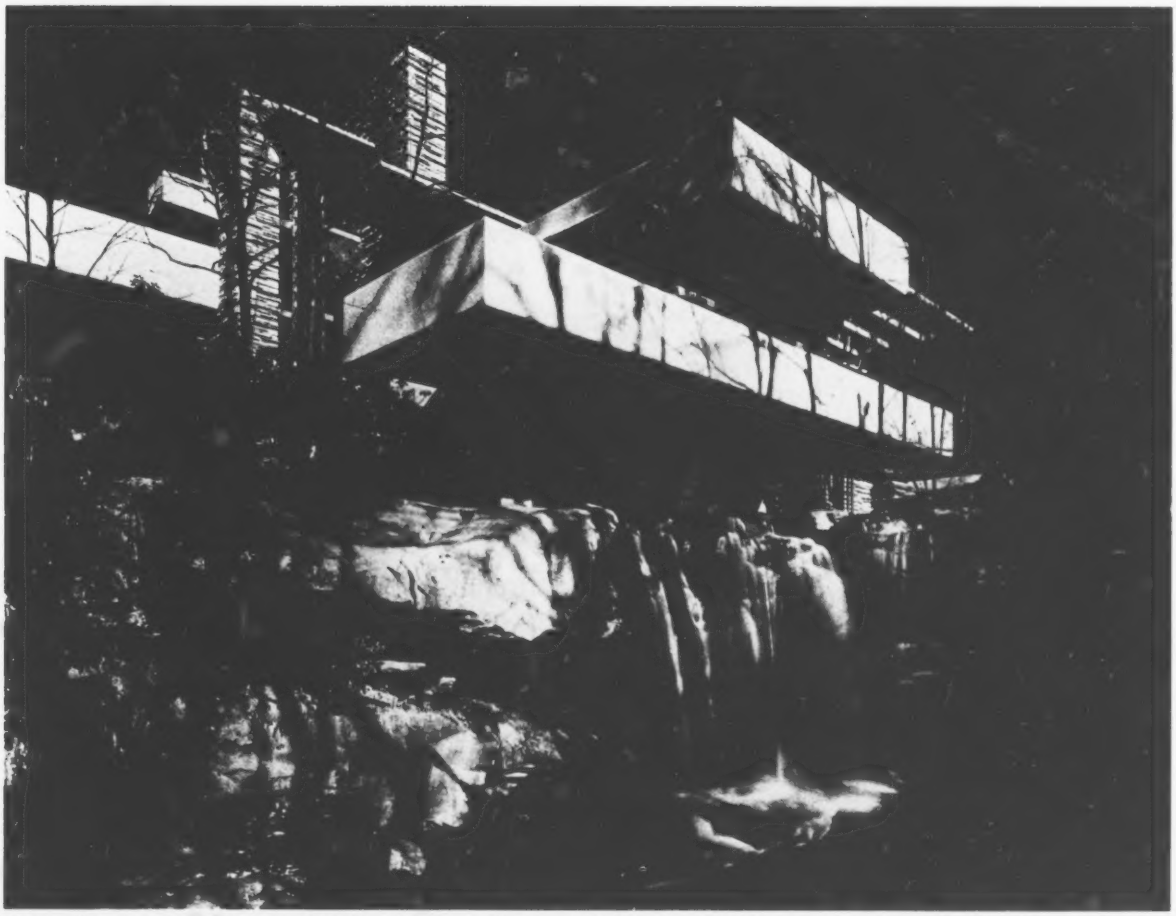

Illustration 14: Frank Lloyd Wright. "Falling Water,", Kaufmann Residence near Connellsville, Pennsylvania. 1936-67. (Bill Hedrich).

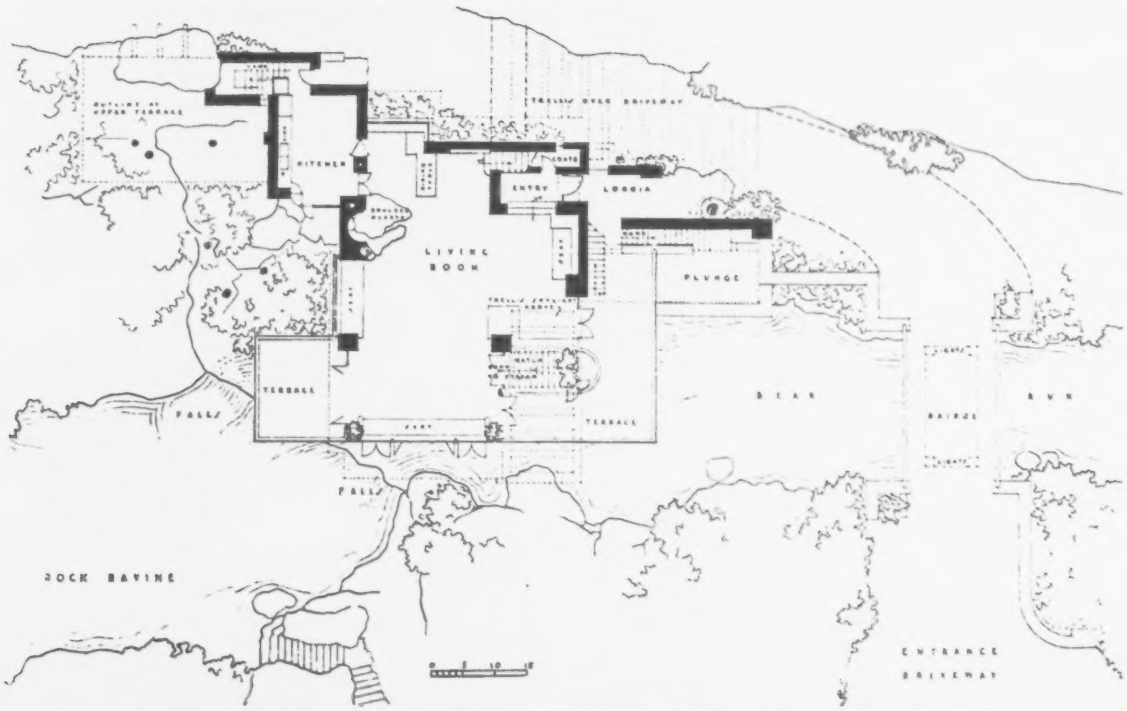

Illustration 15: Frank Lloyd Wright. "Falling Water," Kaufmann Residence near Connellsville, Pennsylvania. 1936-67. Plan of entry level. (Frank Lloyd Wright Memorial Foundation).

Illustration 16: **Richard Neutra. Kaufmann "Desert" House. Palm Springs, California. 1946. (Richard and Dion Neutra; Julius Shulman).**

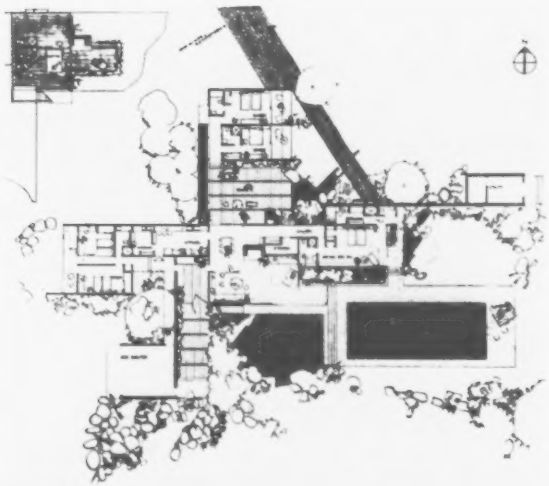

Illustration 17: **Richard Neutra. Kaufmann "Desert" House, Palm Springs, California. 1946. Plan. (Richard and Dion Neutra).**

of Richard Neutra. As a synthesis of European rational notions of clarity and simplicity with the more relaxed, pragmatic, and nature-oriented approach in America, they encompass all the major concepts of Modern Architecture: functional lay-out, flowing spaces derived from a "free plan," the "skeleton" as structural system, and the integration of the interior with the exterior environment. Because of their elegance and technical perfection, they are among the best designs that the Modern Movement has produced. A representative example is Richard Neutra's Kaufmann Residence in Palm Springs, California, built in 1946. (Illustrations 16 and 17)

Of a more recent date, though along similar lines, is the Brooks House, built in 1961 at Long Lake by Ralph Rapson, the most prominent architect living and working in Minnesota. (Illustration 18)

Modernism Aims at New Society

In both Europe and the United States, Modernism attempted to create a new society through science and technology, and through a

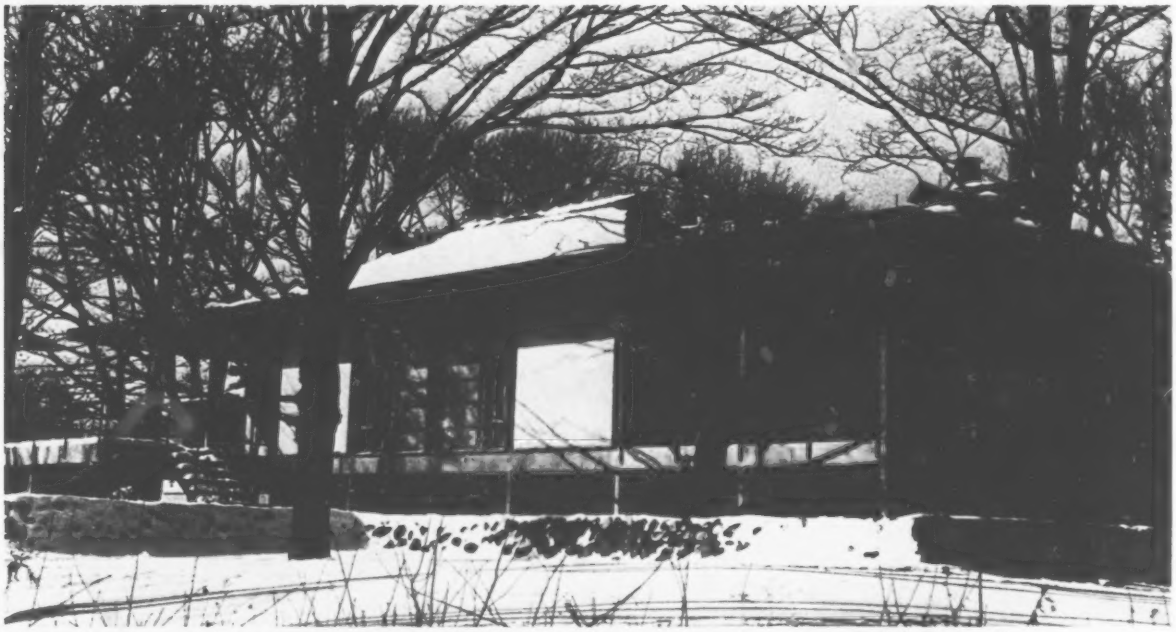

Illustration 18: Ralph Rapson. Brooks Residence, Long Lake, Minnesota. 1961. (Ralph Rapson).

new conception of architectural space and form. German notions of rational idealism played a significant part in shaping its premises and determining its course of development. Manifest in a quest for clarity, abstraction, and rational order — and a strong belief that ideal solutions and forms can be found through scientific logic — these concepts became symbolized in an institution that is often considered synonymous with the whole Modern Movement: the Bauhaus. Founded in 1919 by Walter Gropius in the city of Weimar and later moved to Dessau, the Bauhaus represented a unique endeavor. It was a research institute, a school of art, architecture and industrial design, and a testing ground for new ideas and products. Its goals were to coordinate all creative efforts into a new unity and to overcome the division that existed between art and industry. Consequently, the machine played a central role in its philosophy and activities. Its curriculum focused on both theoretical and technical instruction. Among its teachers, besides Gropius, were some of the great artists of the time, including Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky. Many of its students went on to create international reputations for themselves. (Illustration 19)

The influence of the Bauhaus on our lives will never be totally determined: the legacy of its ideas continues. Much more than a school, it stood for a whole new school of thought that totally changed the world of art, architecture and industrial production. The range of its activities and products is legendary. Some of its designs and pieces of furniture are still marketed today, as for instance Marcel Breuer's famous tubular chair (Illustration 20), or Mart Stam's wicker chair.

Illustration 19: Walter Gropius. Bauhaus Building, Dessau, Germany. 1925-26. (TAC, The Architects Collaborative).

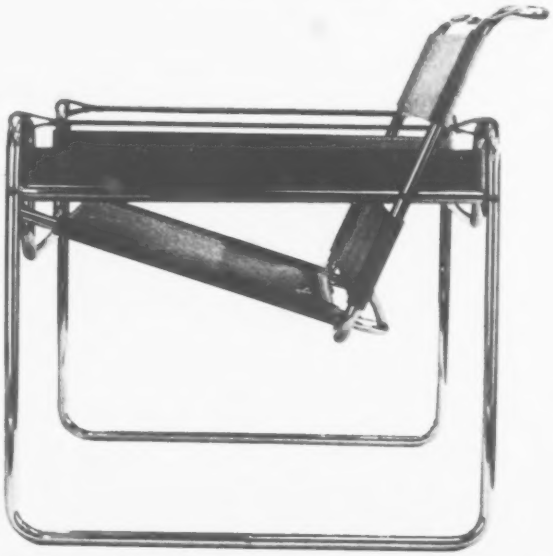

Illustration 20: Marcel Breuer. Wassily Chair. 1926. (Sedid, Inc.).

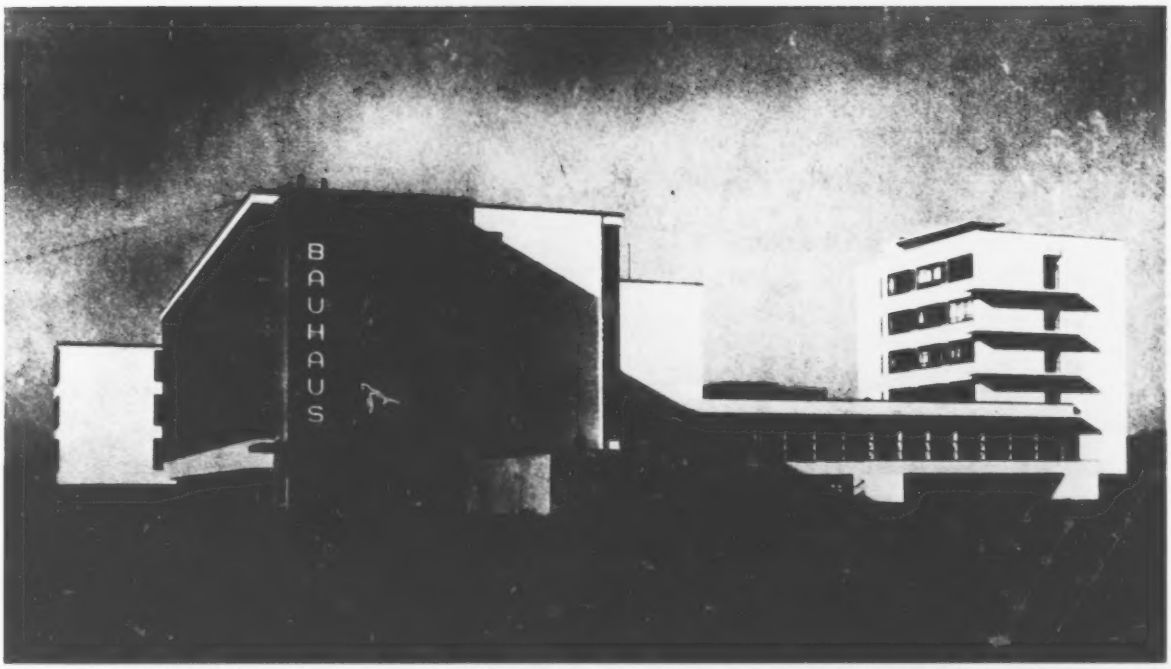

Illustration 21: Walter Gropius. Bauhaus Building. Workshops, Commons and Student Housing. 1925-26. (TAC, The Architects Collaborative).

Bauhaus Building Becomes Symbol

The Bauhaus Building was designed by Gropius himself and built by the whole staff and student body. It manifests the concepts of the Modern Movement in exemplary form. Its asymmetrical composition, both in plan and elevation, is generated from functional requirements: classrooms, workshops, and student housing, each in its own wing. The "free plan" and the structural system of the "skeleton" in the workshops and classrooms allowed for the functional flexibility and high degree of interaction demanded by Bauhaus philosophy. The exterior is determined by crisp cubic forms; the machine-like, smooth, white surfaces; and the technical character of the glass curtain-wall and horizontal windowbands. (Illustrations 21 and 22)

The Bauhaus Building, with its cool rationality, became the symbol for modern progress and a model for most of our institutional buildings. Its direct influence can be seen in many structures that serve functions of government, art or education. Some of these were even designed by Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius, or by architects who were their students after both had emigrated to the United States and started new careers. Together with the skyscraper and the house, they form much of the character and appearance of the cities we live in, not only in America but all over the world. (Illustration 23)

"Modernism" has come under serious attack during the last decade. Its fundamental concepts

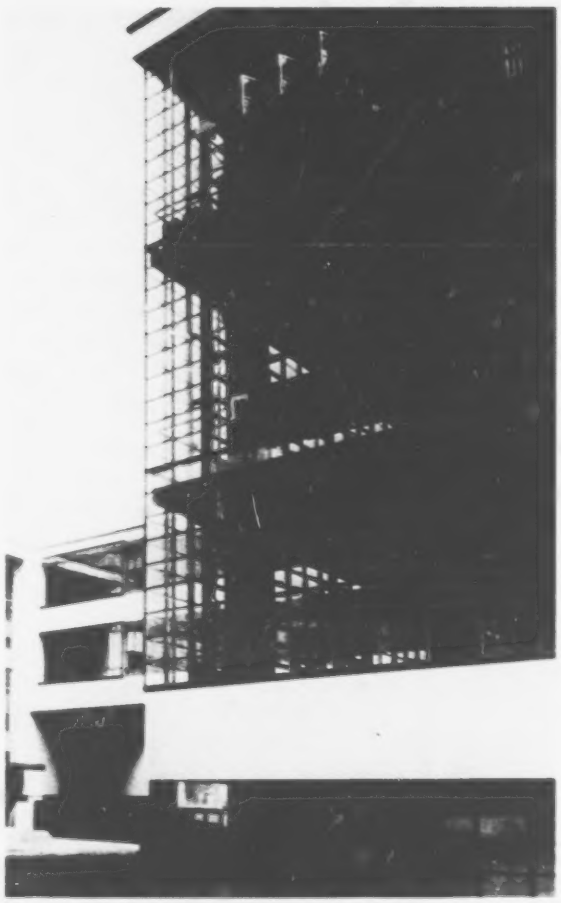

Illustration 22: Walter Gropius. Bauhaus Building. Corner of Workshops and Main Entry. 1925-26. (TAC, The Architects Collaborative).

— based on the promises of science and technology, social idealism, and the powerful image of the machine — have lost their appeal. The physical results fall short of the utopian dream. The machine has left much of human quality in its wake. "Truth" proved not to be "value-free."

"Post-Modernism," as yet a collection of various movements rather than a style, is probing for new directions. In search of "meaning" rather than "truth," it tries to recall the rich tradition of architecture and to create a new future from the past. Whether it will succeed where Modern Architecture failed must be left for another time and generation to tell.

Gunter Dittmar is associate professor at the School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture of the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. Born in Austria, he grew up in Germany before coming to the United States. He received his architectural education both in Germany (Dipl. Ing. Arch., Technical University, Munich) and the U.S. (M.Arch, Yale University). He has taught at the University of Texas in Austin and California State Polytechnic University in San Luis Obispo before coming to Minnesota. His expertise and publications are in the areas of Architectural Theory and History of Architecture, especially as they relate to issues of Modern and Contemporary Architecture. Because of his background, and because Germany played such an important role in the formation of 20th Century Architecture, German developments are of particular interest to him.

Illustration 23: Modern Cityscape. Minneapolis with IDS Center and Orchestra Hall in the foreground. (School of Architecture, University of Minnesota).

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Issues in German-American Trade and Investment

by Daniel Hamilton

(*Author's note:* This article is based on a panel discussion, "Issues in German-American Trade and Investment," held during the conference on "A Special Relationship: Germany and Minnesota 1945-1985." Participants included Wolf Brueckmann, Director of West European Affairs for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in Washington, D.C.; Wolfgang Ebert, Group Administrator of Buhler-Miag Corporation in Minneapolis; and Bernd von Arnim, Senior Vice President of European-American Bank in New York. The panel was chaired by the author. This summary attempts to place the discussion — much of which centered around issues of the day — in broader perspective, and places chief emphasis on the framework of German-American economic relations within which the discussion was held. The author, not the participants, assumes all responsibility for the ideas expressed in this article.)

The German-American economic relationship is indeed special. The importance of the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States to each other, in trade and investment as well as in many other economic and political matters, can hardly be overstated. The U.S. and the Federal Republic rank among the world's most powerful and dynamic economies: they are the two largest trading nations in the world. The dollar and the *Deutsche Mark* are the leading international reserve currencies.

The United States is the first target for non-American firms investing abroad; the Federal Republic is the second largest base for multinational corporations. American firms represent the single largest source of foreign investment in the Federal Republic, and the U.S. is the single largest recipient of West German investment abroad. More than 600 companies from West Germany have subsidiaries in the United States, employing thousands of workers; over 750 American companies do business in West Germany. West Germany is the land of the *Wirtschaftswunder* — the "economic miracle." The U.S. has the largest GNP (gross national production) of any nation in history.

U.S. Investment, German Trade

Although there can be no doubt that the United States and West Germany are major international economic powers, each country's source of economic power internationally has been based on what one might call a "skewed" orientation; in the case of the U.S., toward investment abroad; for Germany, trade.

"Made in Germany" has become not only a renowned symbol of German quality but also of the German export machine. "The American Challenge" which Europeans feared in the 1960's did not refer to a large American economy but to the foreign investment strategy of American firms. West Germany's economic miracle was based on the strategy of export growth; investment abroad by German firms developed only slowly. Although America's sheer size meant that the U.S. was the largest trading nation in absolute terms, the symbol of American economic might was not the American exporter but the multinational corporation, with its far-flung offices spread around the globe.

Despite the seeming success of Germany's export strategy and of America's foreign investments during the postwar period, there have been factors at work (particularly in the past decade), to induce American companies to consider exporting rather than producing only for the domestic market or seek foreign subsidiaries, and for West German companies to increase dramatically their investments abroad to bolster their traditional global strategy based on exports. These trends will have a significant impact on the direction of the German and American economies, and on the nature of the German-American economic relationship in the 1980's.

Instead of reiterating West Germany's export success and the rise of American multinationals, which have been well covered elsewhere,[1] I would like to concentrate more fully on what one may call the countervailing trends in the German and American economies: the German wave of investments abroad and the growing American need to increase its export orientation. Finally, I would like to illustrate how these trends come together in the regional and local dimension of the German-American economic relationship.

West Germany: The Challenges to Export-Led Growth

The Federal Republic today is the strongest major industrial country in Western Europe, and one of the strongest in the world. A common perception is that the Federal Republic continues to be the land of "the economic miracle": a country with low inflation and low unemployment, large monetary reserves, and favorable national economic statistics in general. In no sector of the economy has success been more pronounced than in the Federal Republic's important export sector. The immediate postwar restructuring of the West German economy toward export-led growth, based primarily on capital goods industries, has been a tremendous success. The Germans have been prosperous as never before.

The ten years since 1975 have been marked by two energy crises, the twin spectres of inflation and recession, and the slow growth of international trade. Yet until the beginning of the 1980's, West Germany seemed remarkably less affected by these factors than its neighbors. Its large coal reserves helped to mitigate the shock of the oil price increases; the new, tremendously wealthy oil-producing states greatly increased their demand for the Federal Republic's export-oriented capital goods industries; and the Federal Republic was successful in expanding its export markets to the Third World, to Eastern Europe, and to the Soviet Union. The outward manifestation of the economic miracle remained very strong during the 1970's.

It is difficult to deny that West Germany has enjoyed a long period of economic success and prosperity. Yet however bright the Federal Republic's economic situation has been in the past, there are a number of factors which reflect a more pessimistic view of the long-range prospects for a West German economy based largely on a strategy of export-led growth. These factors in turn point to a continuation and even an acceleration of the present trend of increased direct investments abroad.

Labor Constraints

For the past twenty years German companies have met the challenge of a shortage of indigenous labor by hiring more and more foreign laborers — the *Gastarbeiter*. At present, about 10% of the total labor force are *Gastarbeiter*. The uncomfortable dependence on the *Gastarbeiter*, long a social and political issue, now threatens to explode because two million people in West Germany are unemployed. West Germany's labor tightness has also strengthened the power of the unions. Rising wages have outstripped productivity growth, further squeezing corporate profits already

The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin being signed in the former Allied Control Council building in West Berlin on 3 June 1972. From right to left at the table Foreign Ministers Rogers (USA), Gromyko (USSR), Douglas-Home (Great Britain) and Schumann (France) — (German Information Center).

trimmed by successive *Deutsche Mark* (DM) revaluations. German labor costs are among the highest, if not the highest, in the world — if one counts fringe benefits, which run about 70% of wages (more than double the U.S. fringe rate). This has forced companies to turn to labor-saving equipment at home and to invest more abroad, particularly in areas of cheap and plentiful labor.

The Deutsche Mark Dilemma

Economists familiar with the West German economy, such as Hans Schmitt and Henry Wallich, attribute West Germany's economic success largely to the Federal Republic's ability to run balance-of-payments surpluses. "If there has been a German miracle, this surely is it."[2] Such persistent surpluses have been largely based on an undervaluation of the DM in relation to the currencies of the Federal Republic's major trading partners. The undervalued DM supported the country's orientation toward export-led growth; West German exports were highly price-competitive.

Part of the Federal Republic's export success in recent years has been increased trade with the Third World, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe. But success in volume terms must be qualified by the fact that West German industries hold an uncomfortably large debt from many of their new customers. In effect, West Germany has been using part of its monetary surplus to finance employment in its export industries.

The trade figures do not show some important constraints on continued export success. Moreover, low profits, potential labor unrest, high interest rates, and general recession have discouraged domestic investment in recent years. Lower levels of domestic investment have further eroded productivity in the export oriented capital goods sector. These factors have pointed to a gradual shift away from the overwhelming dominance of the strategy of export-led growth. Exports have continued to be a significant feature of the economy, but they have been increasingly supplemented by a growing network of corporate subsidiaries abroad. The major industries investing abroad are the chemical industry, electrical engineering and electronics, steel construction, iron production and steel moulding, the auto industry, and oil and natural gas. German banks and insurance companies have also been actively investing abroad.

German Investment in the United States: The New Immigration

The 300th anniversary of the first German immigration to the United States is 1983. This year will probably also record a massive influx of a new wave of immigration from Germany — money. The first wave of German immigration resulted in significant German contribution to the American way of life, particularly in the Upper Midwest. The result of the second wave of German immigration has also been profound: a visible and important German business presence in America.

At the invitation of Walter Scheel (left) the President of the United States of America Jimmy Carter paid an official visit to the Federal Replublic of Germany from 14 to 15 July 1978 — (German Information Center).

The United States has rapidly become the leading target for West German investment abroad. As a German businessman has exclaimed, "Who would have thought that one day it might be cheaper to assemble a Beetle in Georgia than in Germany? The next thing you know, we may start moving our breweries to Milwaukee."[3]

The significance of the German investment flow to the U.S. first became apparent in 1978, when West German investment in the U.S. surpassed American investment in West Germany for the first time. For many years American money poured overseas, but in 1978 the tide reversed. German firms have been attracted by the large and expanding American market, a less onerous regulatory climate, political stability, and relatively low labor costs. Moreover, the U.S. is a prime German export market, and many German businessmen believe they must build U.S. plants to hold on to their market share. The relatively low cost of land in the U.S. is another attraction. A German newspaper recently reported that West

Germans now own 40,000 square miles of American farmland — an area nearly as large as Communist East Germany.[4] German investment has created jobs, bolstered the American economy, helped shrink the trade deficit, and strengthened the dollar. Earnings by American operations of German companies are largely reinvested back into the U.S. economy, rather than exported to Germany.[5]

The United States: The New American Challenge

During the 1950's and 1960's, America was the unquestioned leader of the world economic system. Under the gold-dollar standard of the Bretton Woods monetary system and within a framework of rules for international trade established by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), American growth and productivity rates set the pace for the rest of the world. Seemingly without effort, the U.S. in 1949 commanded a 25% share of the world market share in manufacturers and a 22% share of global exports.

These figures shrank to 17% and 12% in 1979. Our former economic preeminence is gone: America, although still very significant in the global economy, is no longer dominant. Productivity growth, which increased more than 3% a year for two decades after World War II, dropped to about 1% a year between 1973 and 1977, and in 1979 declined 2%.[6] U.S. hourly wages increased faster than productivity, posing problems for American corporations.

The United States is now facing an international economic challenge unprecedented in the postwar era, and that challenge is focused on America's diminishing export competitiveness and dependence on foreign energy and raw materials. Americans could afford to ignore exports when our competitors were weak; exports were relatively unimportant to the U.S. economy because of our huge internal marketplace and abundance of raw materials. Today an increasingly competitive world marketplace, coupled with a high rate of import growth in the U.S., requires a major commitment to export expansion. Exports can no longer be ignored: one out of every eight manufacturing jobs in the U.S. depends on exports. For every one of those jobs, another one in a supporting industry is created. Every third acre of U.S. farmland produces for export. Today one of every three dollars of U.S. corporation profits comes from activities abroad.[7]

At the same time that exports are becoming more important to the American economy, the U.S. is suffering from a deterioration in its trade. America's failing trade performance may be attributed not only to the decline in American competitiveness indicated above; a whole range of reasons inhibit American companies (which do not yet export) from entering the international marketplace. Attitudinal constraints, apprehension about exports, indifference, lack of knowledge, financial liabilities, regulatory impediments, foreign trade barriers, or operational/resource limitations all prevent "natural" market forces from fully determining international trade levels. The vast majority of all American exports, 80%, are still produced by only about 1% of all U.S. manufacturers.[8]

There is a growing perception in this country that the U.S. needs to promote its exports actively and improve American competitiveness in the world marketplace. President Reagan's signature of the recent law permitting the formation of export trading companies seems to signal an end to American companies' complaisant attitude toward exports.

German-American Economic Relations: The Regional Dimension

A new war between the states has erupted, but their battleground extends far beyond the United States. During the past decade American states have battled one another with increasing vigor to attract foreign investors and to promote exports from their firms. For example, 40 states competed to get the $250,000,000 Volkswagen plant that was eventually built in Pennsylvania. Thirty American states now have offices in major European capitals — seeking investments in their areas and promoting local exports. We have seen only the beginning of this trend because, as Frederick Huszagh declared before the Senate Sub-committee on International Finance, "Many states and regions are really seeking to form their own foreign trade policies because they do not find they fare well when their interests are aggregated at the national level."[9] Gunthar Nitsch, manager of market development for the German-American Chamber of Commerce, seems to agree: "Until five years ago, most Germans thought the U.S. was four states — New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Now these states are fighting for investment that only a few years ago would have naturally gone there."[10]

This trend toward regional competition is also apparent in Germany. In a number of German *Lander* (states), for example, including Hesse, North-Rhine Westphalia, and West Berlin, separate agencies have been set up to promote development. A crucial target of these efforts is the U.S., from which 37% of all investment to West Germany originated between 1961 and 1979, more than from the rest of the European Community combined.[11]

Minnesota and the Special Economic Relationship

It is in the regional dimension of German-American economic relations that the trend toward increased German investment abroad, and the growing need for American companies to export, become clearer. The regional dimension also highlights another aspect of the "special relationship" between Germany and Minnesota. Many thoughtful Minnesotans have begun to pay attention to a phrase which increasingly signifies an imperative of American life: "Thinking globally, acting locally." Minnesota, as well as many other states, is trading directly with countries around the world. In return, more foreign firms than ever before are considering Minnesota exports, and also considering the state as a site for foreign investment. Long known in the U.S. as the growing commercial and industrial hub of the Upper Midwest, Minnesota is now recognized to be one of the largest inland world marketplaces.

Minnesota offers foreign investors a well-balanced economy, one which can boast of unusual strength in the three areas of America's greatest export competitiveness: agriculture, high technology, and services. World leaders in high technology — Control Data, 3M, and Honeywell — are based in the Twin Cities. Minnesota is one of the nation's largest agricultural producers, the home of such companies as Pillsbury, General Mills, Land O'Lakes, Hormel, Peavey, and International Multifoods, as well as Cargill, the nation's largest privately-owned company. Agriculture is not the only resource: Minnesota supplies over 60% of all the iron ore mined in America. Four of the largest transportation companies in the nation are headquartered in Minnesota. Duluth is Minnesota's world port. Minnesota's highly diversified financial industry includes

Summit conference of the heads of state and heads of government of the European Community countries in Bremen (6 July 1978) — (German Information Center).

the Northwest Bancorporation and the First Bank System, two of the nation's largest bank holding companies. To all of this Minnesota adds its famous "quality of life," recognized to be at the top in all nationwide surveys.

The special relationships between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, and between Germany and Minnesota in particular, which were outlined at this conference are much more readily understandable by narrowing our focus further — to people, Germans and Minnesotans. On the economic side, one of our panel members, Wolfgang Ebert (with his company, Buhler-Miag), tells this story well.

Buhler-Miag in Minnesota began as two separate companies, Buhler from Uzwil, Switzerland, and Miag from Braunschweig, Germany, both of which invested in Minnesota in the 1950's. Since the merger of the two firms in 1972, Buhler-Miag has expanded its operations in the U.S. considerably. Their reasons given for investing in the U.S. and in Minnesota in particular are many of those mentioned earlier: "the availability of capital, the ease of obtaining credit, the freedom to pursue profit, an excellent educational system,. . .and the fact that investment has to follow trade to keep and expand a company's market share." "The U.S.," declares Ebert, is "a dynamic, creative economy characterized by rapid innovation." His company is an important contributor to Minnesota's economy, both as employer and buyer. During 1981, for example, Buhler-Miag purchases for a variety of supplies totaled approximately $12,400,000, about 75% of which came from Minnesota firms. Ebert says, "The Minnesota economic climate has been attractive to the company, and the outlook for economic conditions as they relate to Buhler-Miag is favorable. Another attraction of Minnesota is that people of this state are real and honest."[12]

Education for Interdependence

Wolfgang Ebert and our other panel members made us all more aware of the common economic stake shared by our two nations, and by Minnesota and Germany in particular. They also increased our awareness of the growing need to educate people who are economically literate, trained in business skills, and who can demonstrate some cultural and linguistic fluency. John Naisbitt, an adviser to a number of American corporations on America's social, economic, political, and technological trends, recently declared that "for Americans, it is self-evident that this is the time to learn another language, and learn it well."[13]

Here again Minnesota is a pioneer. Minnesota has a rich tradition of excellence in secondary school education and in its liberal arts colleges. Concordia College's International Language Villages are leaders in experiential education in the United States, and Concordia's Institute of German Studies is the only undergraduate institute of its kind in the U.S. offering total-immersion language training as well as specific training and on-the-job work experiences in economics, political science, and international affairs — all conducted in German. Three hundred years after the first German immigrants came to the United States, a new wave of German investment and German exports are deeply affecting the American economy and American lifestyles. American trade and investment in turn has a profound effect on life in the Federal Republic. Minnesota, like many other states, stand to gain from these trends. And from its own unique place in the "special relationship."

Daniel S. Hamilton is deputy director of the Aspen Institute in Berlin, developing and leading seminars, workshops, and conferences on issues of contemporary society from a human-centered point of view. He attended St. Olaf College, Universitat Konstanz, and earned his B.S. in Foreign Service at Georgetown University in 1977 (magna cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa). He took an M.A. (with distinction) in International Affairs at John Hopkins in 1979 and is completing his doctoral dissertation on "East-West Trade and German-American Relations: Managing the Politcal Economy of Alliance." From 1972-1982 he has been a staff member of the Concordia College International Language Villages, serving in 1982 as dean of the Institute of German Studies (a total-immersion program in language and culture) and dean-director of the Helvetia Swiss Village, developing an innovative program in German and French languages and Swiss culture. He was program officer for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations 1979-81 and consultant 1981-82. Publications: "Patterns of Europe's Trade in the 1980's" and "Prospects for Investment and Trade in a Changing World Economy" (1979) in *World Trade in the 1980's: Problems and Opportunities for Multi-National Corporations.*

Notes

[1]See, for example, Edwin Hartrich, *The Fourth and Richest Reich* (New York: MacMillan, 1980); Frank Vogl, *German Business after the Economic Miracle* (London: MacMillan, 1973); Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *The American Challenge* (New York: Atheneum, 1968)

[2]Henry C. Wallich, *Mainsprings of the German Revival* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), p. 107. See also Hans O. Schmitt, "The West German 'Miracle' Reconsidered," *Challenge*, Vol. 13, No. 3, February 1965, pp. 4-6.

[3]Quoted in "West Germany: What Happened to the Miracle?" *Dun's Review*, August 1973, p. 49.

[4]As quoted in *Forbes*, July 7, 1980, p. 82.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 82.

[6]John Naisbitt, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives* (New York: Warner Books, 1982), p. 56.

[7]U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance gave these figures before a meeting of the National Governors' Association. See U.S. Senate, *Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Finance of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs: U.S. Programs and Facilities Designed to Support Exports* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. GPO, 1978), p. 80.

[8]*Ibid.*, p. 420.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

[10]"Has Money, Will Travel," *German-American Trade News*, July-August 1980, p. 10.

[11]*Financial Times*, April 28, 1982.

[12]From remarks made at the conference.

[13]Naisbitt, p. 76.

Appendix A
The Post World War II Immigration to Minnesota: the Documented Story of Norbert Benzel

by Clarence A. Glasrud

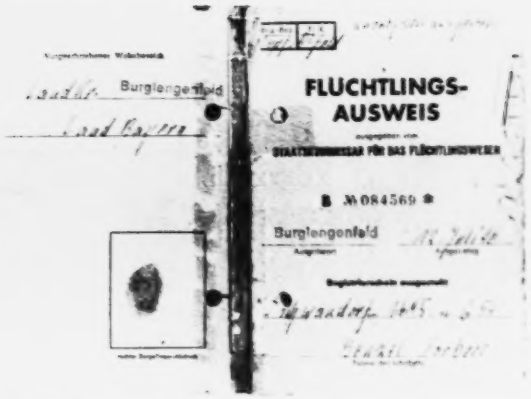
Several articles in this collection speak of a "new immigration" of German business and professional people to Minnesota since 1945. One of them kept a record of a complex and sometimes very difficult transplanting, and the exhibits reproduced here tell his story.

Norbert G. Benzel was born in Stettin, Pomerania in 1931. He grew up in Neustettin, a county-seat town of 18,000 near the former German-Polish border. As the pictures show, Neustettin is in a lake region, not unlike Minnesota. It is now a part of Poland.

The Benzel home in Neustettin, Pomerania, in 1939.

***Bootsbrücke*, Neustettin, a small harbor with docks for pleasure craft.**

During the first few post-war years, people from large cities took the train to the country riding on the roof and clinging to the sides if necessary. The object was to trade possessions for potatoes or other foods (German Information Center).



Norbert Benzel's refugee passport.

On January 28, 1945 the Benzel family left for Berlin on a refugee train to escape the advancing Russian Army. Frequent air raids made this trek an eight-day nightmare. From Berlin the Benzels made their way to Dresden, where 150,000 people were killed in the notorious fire-bombing of February 13, 1945; from there they fled to Amberg, Bavaria and later to the smaller city of Schwandorf, where they escaped another bombing on April 17.

Around 7,000,000 refugees from Germany's eastern territories were registered in the Allied-occupied zones by the end of 1946. The photo shows a scene from a refugee camp in Berlin (German Information Center).

At the end of the war in 1945, Wesel on the Rhine was a desolate city of ruins (German Information Center).

The new district seat of Wesel, which rose up out of the rubble and debris of the destroyed city, once again has a population of about 50,000 (German Information Center).

The Benzel family just before World War II. All of them survived the war; but after Norbert's father was called into service in 1939, they were not reunited until 1950, when the elder Benzel returned to Germany from a British prisoner-of-war camp in the Middle East.

Amberg: Nabburger Tor

The family split up and fourteen-year-old Norbert began working on a farm at Naabsiegenhofen, near Schwandorf, which was to be his home for the next four years. The area was occupied by the U.S. Army on April 25, 1945.

When Bavarian schools were opened in September 1946, Norbert Benzel began attending the *Lehrerbildungsanstalt und Oberschule* in Amberg, a teacher training institution. Amberg, (41,000) which suffered only minor war damage, has changed little in outward appearance since medieval times.

Amberg: Zeigel-Tor

Benzel and classmates at the Amberg teacher training institution

Schwandorf/Bayern

Olive Packer

Gladys Hobbs

Young Benzel had a forty minute walk to Schwandorf, where he took a local train to Amberg each day. At the Amberg school he was influenced especially by teacher Hedi Oplesch, who spent a year (1947-48) becoming acquainted with the American educational system — at Columbia and elsewhere. Her study in the United States took her to Minneapolis and Patrick Henry High School, where she found kindred spirits in teachers Olive Packer and Gladys Hobbs.

In the summer of 1948 these two Patrick Henry teachers visited the German school. As a part of their tour they requisitioned a U.S. Army vehicle and explored the beautiful Bavarian countryside, accompanied by a troupe of Amberg students, including Norbert Benzel. When the American teachers discovered that he was keenly interested in all things American — and had no ties binding him to his native land — they suggested that he consider emigrating.

Amberg students on an American army vehicle

AMERICAN EXPORT LINES

GENERAL EUROPEAN HEADQUARTERS GENOA, VIA CAIROLI 6

INDEPENDENCE AND SS CONSTITUTION

SAILINGS EVERY 12 DAYS

29.500 TONS

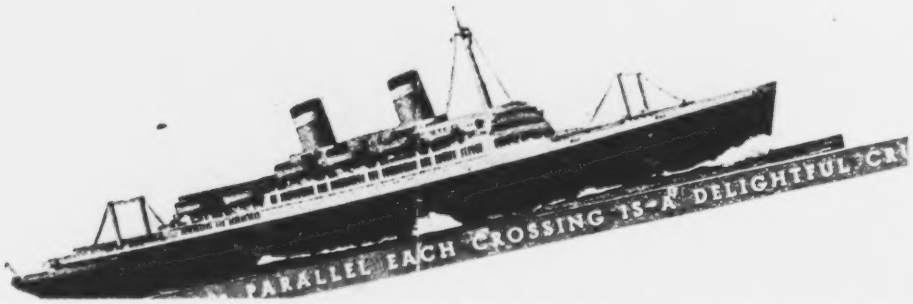
KNOTS

6 DAYS FROM GIBRALTAR TO NEW YORK

8 DAYS FROM NAPLES TO NEW YORK

9 DAYS FROM CANNES/GENOA

TO NEW YORK



Advertisement of the American Export Lines: their SS Independence brought Norbert Benzel to the United States in early July, 1952.

His first step was registration for emigration on April 6, 1950. The second was to find an American sponsor. Gladys Hobbs used her Hamline University connections at this point, and President Hurst Anderson agreed to be Benzel's sponsor. The young German student (who had very nearly completed requirements for graduation from the Amberg institution), would continue his education at Hamline.

This was an important factor in Benzel's immigration. His friends in the United States knew that if he emigrated under other auspices he would face almost immediate induction into the American army. All of them thought that he should complete his undergraduate education first.

Hamline University agreed to send money for trans-Atlantic travel, but getting the money to Germany in time for passage to be booked on an ocean liner was a precarious matter. In the years immediately following World War II, such matters were difficult and any travel arrangements tended to become complex. Benzel traveled by train through Russian-occupied territory to reach Genoa, Italy; at the very last hour his passage money arrived and he sailed on the *SS Independence* on July 13, 1952. He reached the Hamline University campus on July 23.

ABT.

Auszahlungs- / Empfangs-Schein Nr. 5076

Erhalten von

Herrn N. BENZEL

~~Frau~~

~~Fräulein~~

~~DM~~ US $ 358.20 US $

in Worten: DREI HUNDERT ACHT UND FÜNFZIG 20/100

für Schiffskarte Nr 53385/Scheck 515-27959

München, den 19. Juli 1952

Amtl. Bayer. Reisebüro G. m. b. H.

K. E. Nr.

Bestellung Nr.

Benzel's receipt for his passage money: $358.20

BUNDESREPUBLIK
DEUTSCHLAND

REISEPASS

Nr. [redacted]

NAME DES PASSINHABERS

Benzel Norbert

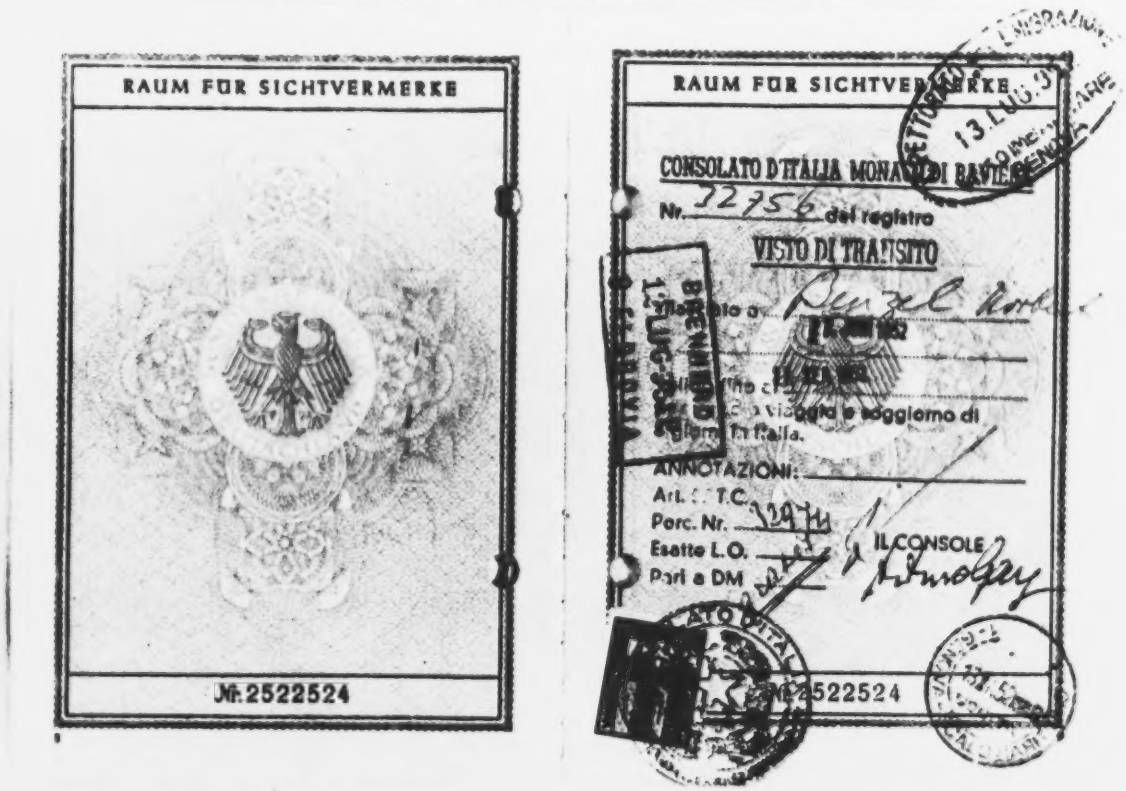
STAATSANGEHÖRIGKEIT

deutsch

Nr. 2522524

Dieser Paß enthält 40 Seiten

Norbert Benzel's German passport



RAUM FÜR SICHTVERMERKE

Nr. 2522524

RAUM FÜR SICHTVERMERKE

CONSULATO D'ITALIA MONACO DI BAVIERA

Nr. 12756 del registro

VISTO DI TRANSITO

Benzel Nort

ANNOTAZIONI:

Art. T.C.

Porc. Nr. 129/11

Esatte L.O.

Pari a DM

IL CONSOLE

Nr. 2522524

Benzel's passport: the Italian stamps indicate that he entered Italy by rail by way of the Brenner Pass.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1952
ST. PAUL PIONEER PRESS

PROF, GERMAN STUDENT 'REUNITED'

When Dr. Theta Wolf, professor of psychology, returned to Hamline university, she was surprised to find among here courtesies a German youth from Amberg, Germany, the town in which she visited relatives this summer.

Amberg is not large and is not a tourist center so the coincidence of meeting Norbert Benzel was great. The youth fled to Amberg as a refugee from northern Germany during an enemy advance in World War II.

Several members of the International Friendship club in a St. Paul high school began corresponding with students at the Amberg Teachers college. When an Amberg club member visited the U. S., he invited the two high school faculty sponsors to visit Amberg. The latter were so impressed with the desire of the Benzel boy to come to America that work began immediately to secure a sponsor for him. Drew residence at Hamline responded and brought him to Hamline university.

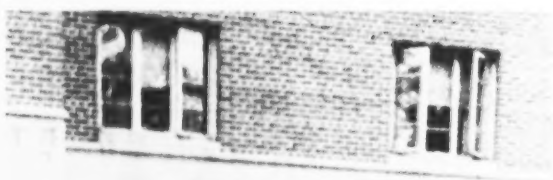
Dr. Wolf, who visited Europe with her husband and son for a year while her husband studied under a Fulbright scholarship, visited Amberg for several days, and her son attended public school there.

Although both agreed that the ancient, walled city of Amberg is beautiful and interesting, Norbert is very thankful to be in America.

"I know that as a refugee I can only find a real home, which could satisfy me wholly, in a country I love . . . in a free, respected and democratic land where every person is estimated as an individual, as a human being," he said.

NORBERT BENZEL, left, and Dr. Theta Wolf, professor of psychology at Hamline university recall the sights of Ambert, Germany where the Benzel youth attended college and where Dr. Wolf visited relatives in the summer.

A St. Paul *Pioneer Press* article about Benzel when he entered Hamline University in September, 1952 (the "Ambert" in the cut-line should be "Amberg")



Norbert Benzel on the Hamline campus

The U.S. Office of Education evaluated Benzel's German college credits. After two years at Hamline he was awarded his bachelor's degree, on June 6, 1954. But there were complications: he owed his new nation military service and as an alien he could not get a job.

The U.S. Army had already threatened to draft Benzel. By law he was required to register as an alien in January 1953. Draft boards were on the lookout for aliens: he was ordered to report for a physical examination and received his draft notice on April 26, 1953. Hamline friends arranged a student deferment, a change in classification from 1A to 2SS.

Benzel fulfilled his military obligation by volunteering for a two-year "hitch" in late September 1954. He had been married on September 11 and was inducted on September 30. While in the service he became an American citizen — at Birmingham, Alabama on April 22, 1955. Because he had become wise in Army ways and had some status in his unit, he was discharged in late August 1956 — a month before his two years of service were completed.

Form N-432
(Revision of 1-1-44)

NOTICE TO PETITIONER

Office of the Clerk of the US District Court,
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA
APR 1 4 19
....., 19....

DEAR SIR:

The hearing on your petition for naturalization has been set for the 22d day of April, 1955, at ~~2:00~~ 9:00 a.m. o'clock in the forenoon of said day, at the courtroom in the U. S. DISTRICT COURT, POST OFFICE BUILDING, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Please report promptly at that time ~~with your~~ witnesses, as your petition is liable to dismissal if you fail to appear.

Very truly yours,

William E. Davis
Clerk.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—15831-1

Bring your Alien Registration Receipt and any immigrant identification card or permit that may be in your possession.

Benzel's "Petition for Naturalization"

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ORIGINAL
TO BE GIVEN TO
THE PERSON NATURALIZED

No. 7462753

CERTIFICATE OF NATURALIZATION

Petition No. 8041

Personal description of holder as of date of naturalization: Date of birth January 9, 1931; sex male; complexion medium; color of eyes brown; color of hair brown; height 5 feet 6 inches; weight 145 pounds; visible distinctive marks None; Married status married; former nationality German.

I certify that the description above given is true, and that the photograph affixed hereto is a likeness of me.

Robert Leicester Benzel
(Complete, full and true signature of holder)

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA } ss:
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ALABAMA }

Be it remembered that at a term of the District Court of The United States, Northern District of Alabama held pursuant to law at Birmingham, Alabama on April 22, 1955 the Court having found that Robert Chamber Benzel who resides at 51st Cml Co (AG), Fort McClellan, Alabama is entitled to be admitted to citizenship pursuant to the United States (or have so required by the Naturalization Laws of the United States), had in all other respects complied with the applicable provisions of such naturalization laws, and was entitled to be admitted to citizenship, thereupon ordered that such person be and he was admitted as a citizen of the United States of America.

In testimony whereof the seal of the court is hereunto affixed this 22nd day of April in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and Fifty-five and of our Independence the one hundred and Seventy-ninth

William E. Davis
Clerk of the U. S. District Court

By .....

Seal

It is a violation of the U. S. Code punishable as such) to copy, print, photograph, or otherwise illegally use this certificate.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The naturalization certificate, dated April 22, 1955

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

A group picture of the professors of German who attended the 1980 summer seminar at Humboldt University, East Berlin

The early discharge was essential: Benzel had accepted a teaching job at Brainerd Junior College, a position he held for two years. He spent the next five years at the University of Minnesota as a graduate student and instructor in the German Department. In 1963 he accepted a position at Concordia College in Moorhead. The article in this collection and a short biographic sketch complete his story.

Fifteen years after his 1952 emigration Benzel returned for a reunion with his class at the *Lehrerbildungsanstalt und Oberschule* in Amberg. It was his first return to Germany except for a short trip in 1961, an opportunity for his wife to meet his parents, brother, and sister.

Since 1967, however, Benzel has gone back to Germany often, many times with Concordia student groups. In the 1980's he has twice attended summer sessions at Humboldt University in East Berlin, where most of his fellow students came from Communist Block countries.

Since 1967 Benzel has gone back to Germany nearly each year, with student groups or pursuing his own professional interests. In the 1970's and 1980's he has attended several Goethe Institute-sponsored seminars held in the Federal Republic of Germany and *Hochschulferienkurse* in the German Democratic Republic (Communist East Germany). He has also returned to West Germany on independent research projects.

In the United States Benzel has taught on the high school, junior college, and college-university level since 1956; he has been chairman of the Concordia College German Department since 1963. His choice of teaching as a life work does not set him apart from the main stream: of all ethnic groups in America, Germans contribute the highest percentage to the teaching profession.

Clarence A. Glasrud, Professor Emeritus at Moorhead State University, has shifted his primary allegiance from English to history since his retirement from teaching in 1977. His M.A. and Ph.D. were from Harvard (in English), after earlier work at Moorhead State Teachers College (B.E.), the University of Minnesota, and Kenyon College. His published books are *The Age of Anxiety*, ed. (Houghton Mifflin, 1960), *Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen* (Norwegian American Historical Association, 1963), *A Century Together*, co-ed. (Fargo-Moorhead Centennial Corporation, 1975), *A Heritage Deferred*, ed. (Concordia College, 1982), and *Roy Johnson's Red River Valley*, ed. (Red River Valley Historical Society, 1982).

Appendix B
German Companies with a Minnesota Subsidiary

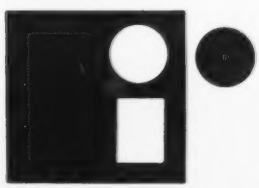
U.S. Subsidiary	German Company	Product
Betaseed, Inc. P.O. Box 959 Minneapolis, MN 55440 (612) 781-8011	KWS Kleinwanzlebener Saatzucht AG Postfach 146 3352 Einbeck	agricultural crop seeds
Brown Printing Co., Inc. U.S. Highway 14 W. Waseca, MN 56093 (507) 835-2410	Gruner + Jahr AG Druck-und Verlagshaus Warburgtrasse 50 2000 Hamburg 36	magazine and catalog printer

Eurodrive, Inc. 10305 Scarborough Road Bloomington, MN 55437 (612) 835-2497	SEW-Eurodrive GmbH Durlacherstrasse 5-7 7520 Bruchsal	power transmission equipment

Henkel Corporation

Henkel

Henkel Corporation 4620 West 77th Street Minneapolis, MN 55435 (612) 830-7831	Henkel KGaA Postfach 1100 4000 Duesseldorf 1	chemical, adhesive and food ingredients



illbruck/usa
techniques with foams

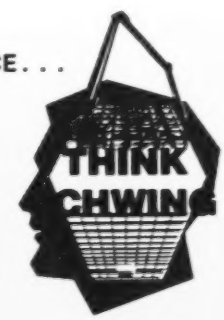
Illbruck USA 3800 Washington Avenue N. Minneapolis, MN 55412 (612) 521-3555	Illbruck Schaumstofftechnik Burscheiderstr. 454 5090 Leverkusen 31	foam/rubber products for automobile industry; packaging, acoustical products, building materials

Kuehne and Nagel, Inc. 7304 24th Avenue S. Air Cargo City No. 2 Minneapolis, MN 55450 (612) 726-1390	Kuehne u. Nagel	international freight forwarding, freight brokers

Nixdorf Computer, Inc. Southdale Office Center 6700 France Avenue S. - Ste. 150 Minneapolis, MN 55435 (612) 929-0341	Nixdorf Computer AG Fuerstenweg 4790 Paderborn	computers
North American Life and Casualty Company 1750 Hennepin Avenue Minneapolis, MN 35403 (612) 377-5511	Allianz Versicherungs AG Koeniginstr. 28 8000 Muenchen 44	life insurance
Schenkers International Forwarders, Inc. P.O. Box 1568 Minneapolis, MN 55111 (612) 726-5123	Schenker u. Co. GmbH Postfach 4349 Mannheimerstr. 81-95 6000 Frankfurt/main 1	international freight forwarders, customs house brokers

FOR CONCRETING WITH CONFIDENCE . . .

SCHWING AMERICA INC.
5900 Centerville Road
White Bear, Minnesota 55110
612-429-0999



Schwing America, Inc. 5900 Centerville Road White Bear, MN 55110 (612) 429-0999	Friedrich Wilh. Schwing GmbH Postfach 247 4690 Herne 2	concrete pumps
Sick Optik-Elektronik, Inc. 2059 White Bear Avenue St. Paul, MN 55109 (612) 777-9453	Edwin Sick GmbH Optik-Elektronik Sebastian-Kneippstr. 1 7808 Waldkirch	photoelectric controls
TMI Turck Multiprox, Inc. 9715 Tenth Avenue N. Minneapolis, MN 55441 (612) 544-7977	Hans Turck KG Witzlebenstr. 7 Postfach 01 18 06 4330 Muelheim a.d. Ruhr	inductive and capacitive proximity switches

Appendix C
Minnesota Companies with Significant Trade in Germany

A.R. Wood Manufacturing
Luverne

Acrometal Products, Inc.
Minneapolis, MN

Advance Machine Company
Spring Park

Aero Systems Engineering, Inc.
St. Paul

AGS International Sales Inc.
Circle Pines

Aladdin Laboratories Inc.
Minneapolis

Alco Engineering Company
Minneapolis

Alexandria Extrusion Company
Alexandria

Anchor/Wallace, Inc.
Minneapolis

Anderson Machine
Chaska

Andrew Engineering Company
Hopkins

Audio Research Corporation
Minneapolis

Bayliner Marine Corporation
Pipestone

Beacon Engineering Company
Rothsay

Bellanca Aircraft Corporation
Alexandria

Big Stone Inc.
Chaska

Bishman Division/Royal Industries
Osseo

Bondhus Tool Company
Monticello

Brandtjen and Kluge, Inc.
St. Paul

Butler Manufacturing Company
Transportation Equipment Div.
Minneapolis, MN

Cardiac Pacemakers, Inc.
St. Paul

Central Research Laboratories, Inc.
Red Wing

Clecon, Inc.
Minneapolis, MN

Clean Print Systems, Inc.
Minneapolis

Colight, Inc.
Photomechanical Division
Minneapolis

Com-Tal Inc.
St. Paul

Dexon Inc.
Minneapolis

Dicomed Corporation
Minneapolis

Diamond Tool and Horseshoe Company
Duluth

Donaldson Company, Inc.
Bloomington

Donnelly Plastics Inc.
Alexandria

Eaton Corporation
Eden Prairie

Electro Craft Corporation
Minneapolis

Environmental Industries
Minnetonka

Erickson Corporation
Minneapolis

Ex-Cell-O Materials Handling
St. Paul

Fabri-Tek
Minneapolis

Fibirite Corporation
Winona

Flame Industries
St. Louis Park

Fluoroware Inc.
Chaska

Foley Manufacturing
Minneapolis

Forsberg's Inc.
Thief River Falls

Ganoy Company
Owatonna

Garelick Manufacturing Company
St. Paul Park

Garlock
St. Louis Park

Glass House Studio, Inc.
St. Paul

Glomer Inc.
Lindstrom

GML Inc.
Roseville

Gopher Grinders Inc.
Anoka

Graco
Minneapolis

Gra-Tec Inc
Minneapolis

Gressen Manufacturing Company
Minneapolis

Gross Given Manufacturing
Automatic Products
St. Paul

Gustafson Manufacturing Company, Inc.
Hopkins

Hamer Machine Company
Minneapolis

Hawkinson, Paul E. Company
Minneapolis

Hercules Inc.
St. Paul

Hi-Lo Manufacturing Company
Minneapolis, MN

Hot-Shot Products Company, Inc.
Savage

Hughes Associates
Excelsior

Hypro/Div. Lear Siegler, Inc.
New Brighton

Instrument Control Company, Inc.
Minneapolis

International Multifoods Corporation
Minneapolis

Inventors Products Company, Inc.
Minneapolis

Ron Johnson Steel Engraving, Inc.
Minneapolis

Kato Engineering Company
Mankato

The King Company
Owatonna

L and A Products
St. Paul

Lee Products Company
Minneapolis

Litton Microwave
Minneapolis

Longyear Company
Minneapolis

Magnetic Controls and ADC Products
Minneapolis

Makens Fabricating Company
St. Paul

Manufacturers Systems, Inc.
Detroit Lakes

Medho Inc.
Minneapolis

Medical Plastics, Inc.
Minnetonka

Mentor Corporation
Minneapolis

Mereen-Johnson Machine Company
Minneapolis

Micro Component Technology Inc.
Minneapolis

Minco Products, Inc.
Minneapolis

Microflame, Inc.
St. Louis Park

Midtex Inc.
North Mankato

Midwest Importers
Cannon Falls

Modern Controls Inc.
Minneapolis

Moulded Products Company
Maple Plain

MTS Systems Corporation
Eden Prairie

MTS Systems Corporation
Minneapolis

Napco Industries Inc.
Hopkins

National Iron Company
Duluth

National Mower Company
St. Paul

Nedmac
Minneapolis

Nobles Industries Inc.
St. Paul

Northland Aluminum Products
Minneapolis

Northwest Microfilm, Inc.
Minneapolis

Nortronics Company, Inc.
Minneapolis

Oildyne Inc.
Minneapolis

Osmonics, Inc.
Hopkins

Owatonna Tool Company
Owatonna

Pako Corporation
Minneapolis

Paul E. Hawkinson Company
Minneapolis

Peavey Company
Minneapolis

Pesck Engineering
Minneapolis

Phelan Manufacturing Corporation
Minneapolis

Photo Control Corporation
Minneapolis

Physical Electronics Industries, Inc.
Eden Prairie

Plastic-Dip International
St. Paul

Portec Inc., Pioneer Division
Minneapolis

Product Development and Manufacturing, Inc.
Mendota

Product Manufacturing Company
St. Paul

Raygo Inc.
Minneapolis

Reel Precision Manufacturing
St. Paul

Red Wing Shoe Company
Red Wing

Remmele Engineering
St. Paul

Renco Corporation
Minneapolis

Research, Inc.
Minneapolis

Rochester Electro-Medical Inc.
New Hope

Rosemount Inc.
Rosemount

Ross and Hynes
Minneapolis

Ryan Equipment Company
St. Paul

Safetran Systems Corporation
Minneapolis

Safeway Hydraulics, Inc.
Minneapolis

Schaper Manufacturing
Plymouth

Sheldahl, Inc.
Northfield

Sico Inc.
Edina

Sico Incorporated
Minneapolis

Silent Knight Security Systems
Minneapolis

Simer Pump Company
Minneapolis

Snappy Inc.
Detroit Lakes

Solar Industries, Inc.
Rogers

Stancraft Products
Minneapolis

Star Machine and Tool Company
Minneapolis

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Sauk Rapid

Skillings Mining Review
Duluth

Steeple Jac/Alpana
Minneapolis

Strauss Skates
Minneapolis

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Chaska

Tec, Inc.
Eden Prairie

Technical Ordnance
St. Louis Park

Telex Communications
Bloomington

Tennant Company
Minneapolis

Thermo Systems, Inc.
St. Paul

Thexton Manufacturing Company
Minneapolis

Timesavers, Inc.
Minneapolis

Tobin Arp Manufacturing Company
Eden Prairie

Tony Team, Inc.
Minneapolis

Truth Inc.
Owatonna

Tru-Split Tool Company
Winona

Vasco
Albert Lea

Vending Equipment Corporation
Minneapolis

Vic Manufacturing Company
Minneapolis

Warner Manufacturing Company
Minneapolis

Waterous Company
St. Paul

Winona Tool Manufacturing
Winona

Wissota Manufacturing Company
Golden Valley

Zero Max
Minneapolis

Appendix D
The Broader German/Swiss - American Relationship and Business in Minnesota

by Wolfgang Ebert

When I was asked to participate in this panel, I thought that it is hardly an original idea to focus on issues facing a European company in Minnesota. If I do so today, it is because I am certain that there is something of interest to you in the story of BUHLER-MIAG in the U.S., of a company which with a number of its product lines ranks as the leading supplier of equipment to several industries; of a company which has strongly contributed over 120 years of its history towards the progess of process equipment and bulk solids handling technology; and which at the same time is generally not known to the public.

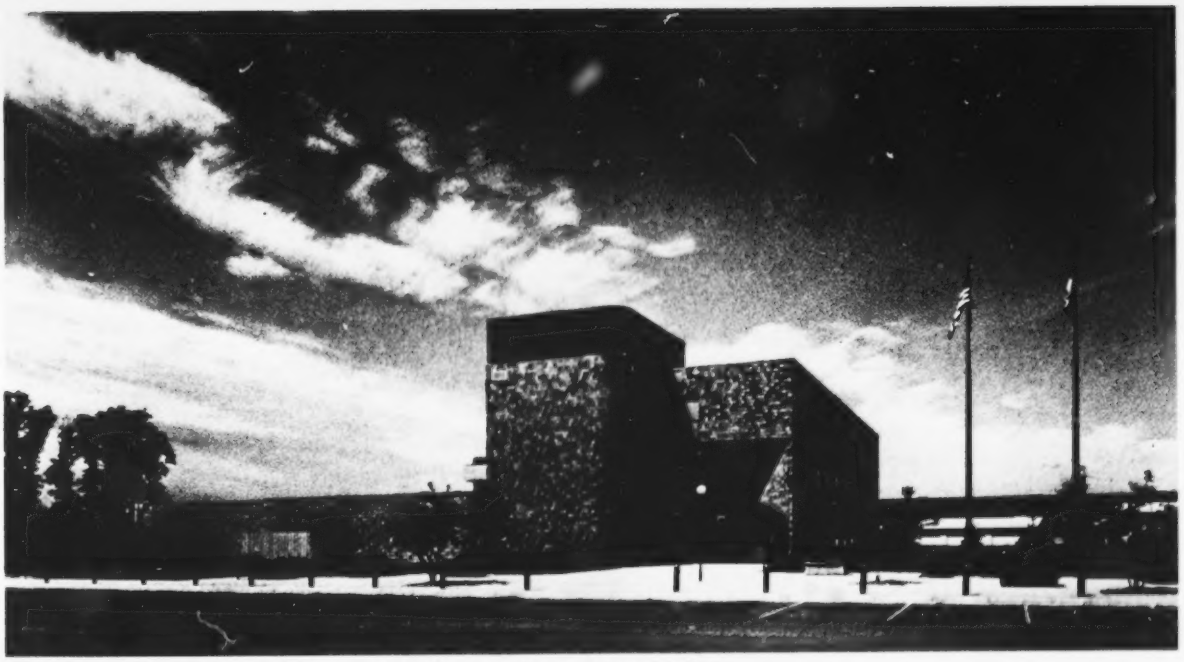
BUHLER-MIAG can cite some form of involvement with almost every consumer product available worldwide. BUHLER-MIAG is involved when you eat your morning cereals or a Hershey bar, drink a Miller beer, serve Kraft or Creamette macaroni, use a bag of cement, drive a car, or handle a dollar bill.

BUHLER-MIAG does business in about 125 countries, has 16 manufacturing subsidiaries, and employes about 9,000 people. BUHLER-MIAG was a multinational company long before this term was coined. In the normal order of events, trade comes first and investment follows trade. Within a few years after establishment of the BUHLER and MIAG companies, the first affiliated companies with sales offices were started in Paris and Vienna; later others followed in Buenos Aires, Barcelona, etc. Once a market is formed and developed, there comes a point in time when further market penetration is not feasible without first establishing responsive sales services in the form of work shops and then manufacturing facilities.

Customers expect a major supplier to be well established in their country. To be an offshore or foreign supplier is a stigma. Many times the creation of local job opportunities is of importance. This applies not only to developing countries: we find it in Canada and the United States as much as in Malaysia and Singapore.

Investment has to follow trade if one wishes to stay in a market and to grow. A multinational corporation has many reasons of its own, for the strength of its operations and for the minimization of risks, to treat foreign countries with their economies not just as sales markets but as integral parts of a worldwide network of correlated business activities. An international company (or in our case a Minnesota corporation whose sole shareholder is a Swiss corporation) is not inherently a danger to the various countries of its operations, but by nature of its own success-oriented strategies, a useful citizen of all societies and economics in which it conducts its business.

BUHLER and MIAG, as separate companies, both came to the U.S. in the 1920's, namely to N.Y.C. and Buffalo. In 1930 American Buhler Machinery Corp. was founded in N.Y. After World War II both companies reestablished themselves in the U.S., BUHLER first in Englewood Cliffs, N.J.; then in the 1950's both companies



The Buhler-Miag office building at 1100 Xenium Lane, Minneapolis.

came to the city of Minneapolis; Later BUHLER built a facility in Golden Valley and MIAG did so in Brooklyn Center; both facilities had offices, warehouses and work shops, all of which had to be expanded again and again.

BUHLER-MIAG evolved from the acquisition in 1972 of MIAG GmbH, Braunschweig, Germany, by BUHLER Brothers, Ltd., Uzwil, Switzerland. Each of these companies has an impressive history, and each independently held an important position among worldwide industrial manufacturers.

BUHLER, which began as an iron factory in 1860, grew from production of cast iron grain mill rollers in 1872 into a diversified supplier of machinery and equipment. The BUHLER name became prominent on flour mills, ship loading equipment, and widely applied mechancial and pneumatic handling equipment. BUHLER machines produce such commodities as macaroni, chocolate, printing ink, paint, and edible oil. Operations like metal die casting are done on BUHLER equipment, even garbage processing.

Braunschweig (Germany)-based MIAG, through some of its predecessors which amalgamated in the 1920's, also has a history of more than 120 years. The MIAG group, which included the largest German milling engineering firms, had by 1940 already equipped half of the world's flour mills. Cement, soap, and rubber factories, malthouses, rice mills, and chemical processing plants were MIAG-equipped. MIAG's involvement

The Buhler-Miag plant at Plymouth, Minnesota has warehouses and workshops that serve the entire United States. The plant was built in 1977 and expanded in 1981.

often included overall factory planning and the provision of storage and bulk conveying systems for customers. Beyond this, it offered a reliable array of vehicular equipment — including mobile cranes and fork lift trucks which are of explosion-proof design, intended for hazardous applications.

MIAG's acquisition by BUHLER in 1972 resulted in the merger of all subsidiaries throughout the world. Indications of lowering growth rates in Europe and increasing realization of instabilities in a number of overseas markets, particularly in developing countries, alerted us to look for markets with a promise of long-term stability and growth. In the U.S. the availability of capital, the ease of obtaining credit, the freedom to pursue profit, an excellent education system: all nurture a dynamic, creative economy characterized by rapid innovation. The decision to move strongly into the U.S. economy by investment in people and facilities was inevitable.

BUHLER-MIAG, INC. is a U.S. company conducting business as a Minnesota corporation. Today our 125,000 sq. ft. facility on a 20-acre site in Plymouth, Minnesota is United States headquarters. Initial construction was completed in 1977 and a major expansion was undertaken in 1981. Our office (with plant complex) represents a capital investment of 6.25 million dollars. The company employs over 300 people with a total payroll of well over 7 million dollars. Many employees have been with BUHLER-MIAG, INC. for 15 or more years. There are about 150 engineers and technical personnel and about 15 plant personnel; the rest are in administration, sales, management, etc.

Currently the manufacturing program includes: bulk materials handling and storage equipment, including pneumatic and mechanical conveyors, stockpiling and reclaimer systems; ship unloading and loading systems; chemical handling and processing equipment; air pollution control equipment; grain and cereals processing plants; oilseed processing, macaroni, snackfood manufacturing equipment; malting, brewing, chocolate manufacturing equipment; paint and ink rolls; and electrical control panels.

BUHLER-MIAG also provides installation supervision, start-up services, operator training, plant operational analysis, and testing. Our capabilities in these areas are reinforced by our emphasis on research and development. Test facilities are available for process and bulk handling tests so that product characteristics can be determined.

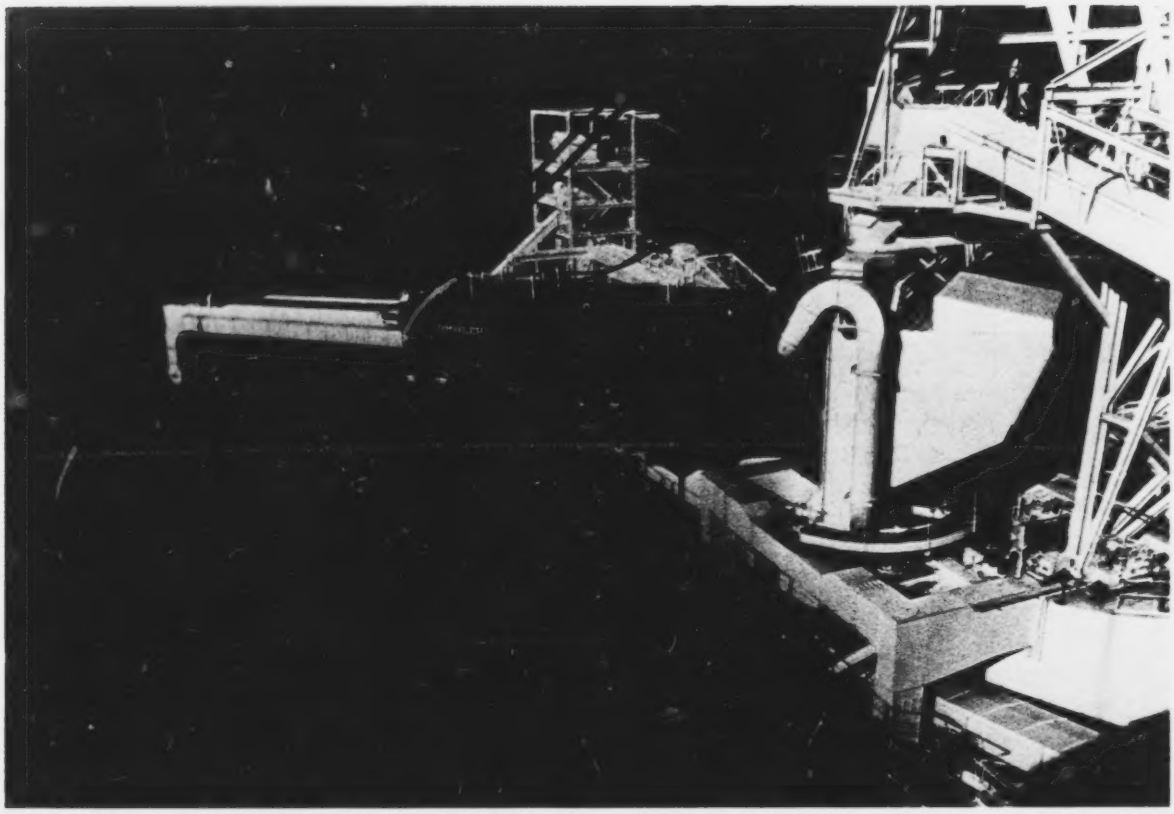
You may be confused by the diversity of activities; however, there is one common thread through all of these operations. The basic processing operations are the same whether we grind flour or limestone, clean cocoa beans or plastic pellets, convey coal, fly ash, wood chips, or malt. Some of these basic operations are cleaning, grinding, sifting, screening, conveying, loading, etc.

World product responsibilities are divided between product lines headquartered in Braunschweig/West Germany and Uzwil/Switzerland. However, in its business activities, its marketing and sales approach BUHLER-MIAG, INC. is very independent. Business chances are determined by a number of external factors: for instance, the acceptability of products in various markets due to industrial standards, underwriters' requirements, safety codes, etc. In advertising, the strategic and creative output are tailored to the characteristics and circumstances of each individual country. Many times buyers in the U.S. have an investment philosophy that differs from Europe and other places. We here in Minneapolis know the requirements of the domestic market, are accountable for BUHLER-MIAG's activities in the U.S., and are not influenced much by the European head offices.

Selection of Minnesota as the headquarters for United States operations was based on several factors, but primarily it was determined by the location in this state of so many major grain milling and processing firms. Minnesota's grain companies, including Pillsbury, Peavey, Cargill, General Mills, and International Multifoods, have long been on the BUHLER-MIAG customer lists that also include virtually all American brewing operations, as well as scores of blue chip companies across the country, ranging from Amax Zinc to U.S. Steel Co. The critical requirement of having suppliers capable of manufacturing to the company's engineering specifications was also met in Minnesota.

The company is an important contributor to Minnesota's economy, both as an employer and as a buyer. During 1981 purchases from a variety of suppliers totaled approximately $12.4 million, approximately 75 percent of which were from Minnesota firms. The ability to purchase locally is important, since the company maintains strict quality control to insure close adherence to its engineering specifications. Although some components are supplied by BUHLER-MIAG plants overseas, local establishments supply those applicable to pneumatic and mechanical bulk handling, air pollution control and grain processing equipment, electrical and electronic control panels, among others. Long range plans, five to ten years away from completion, will provide about 300,000 sq. ft. and the capability of manufacturing to meet most requirements.

The company has some unique requirements in engineering. For example, in some specialized areas, such as macaroni processing technology, American-trained process engineers cannot be



A shiploading boom transfers grain from a Mississippi River barge to an ocean-going ship near New Orleans. This particular Buhler-Miag boom is owned by the Rogers Terminal, a division of Cargill Incorporated.

found, and the company must rely on those educated overseas. For this reason, plus the need for multiple language capabilities to facilitate worldwide communication as necessary, 25 of the employees in BUHLER-MIAG's U.S. operation are factory-trained technical people transferred from Germany or Switzerland. During the last few years it has been increasingly difficult to get Germans and Swiss to come to the U.S. Pay scales and fringe benefits, long vacation allowances, and excellent health and dental coverage in their home countries make it attractive for many to stay where they are.

Most of the sales generated by the Minnesota firm are domestic, but it also exports to customers worldwide. Total 1981 sales for United States operations of this company approximated $37 million. This is not a large figure, but you have to keep in mind that we do not offer shelf items in volume but that most sales represent custom-designed and fabricated systems. The growth of our involvement in the U.S. has been substantial.

At this point let me say a few words about our experience in our U.S. engagement. From the political, regulatory, and legal point of view, the U.S. has been an extremely reasonable place to do business. Our faith in the economic potential of the U.S., since our decision to invest, has not diminished. Foreign investors are welcomed by local authorities. We have found a spirit of genuine free enterprise, with little national chauvinism as in many other overseas countries. We have found few discriminating laws or barriers. "Buy American" laws applicable to the REA-regulated power generation industry and "Buy in Louisiana" laws complicate life, but we can live with them.

The Minnesota economic climate has been attractive to the company, and the outlook for economic conditions as they relate to BUHLER-MIAG is favorable. Another attraction of Minnesota, is that "people of this state are real and honest." Swiss and German personnel relocated into this area also largely enjoy the Minnesota weather, but "It's difficult to explain the absence of mountainous ski areas to the Swiss."

Although the company affects the daily lives of most people in some way, few people recognize the name BUHLER-MIAG. The company's activity centers around what is considered primary processing, the means by which products are made available to actually make the finished product.

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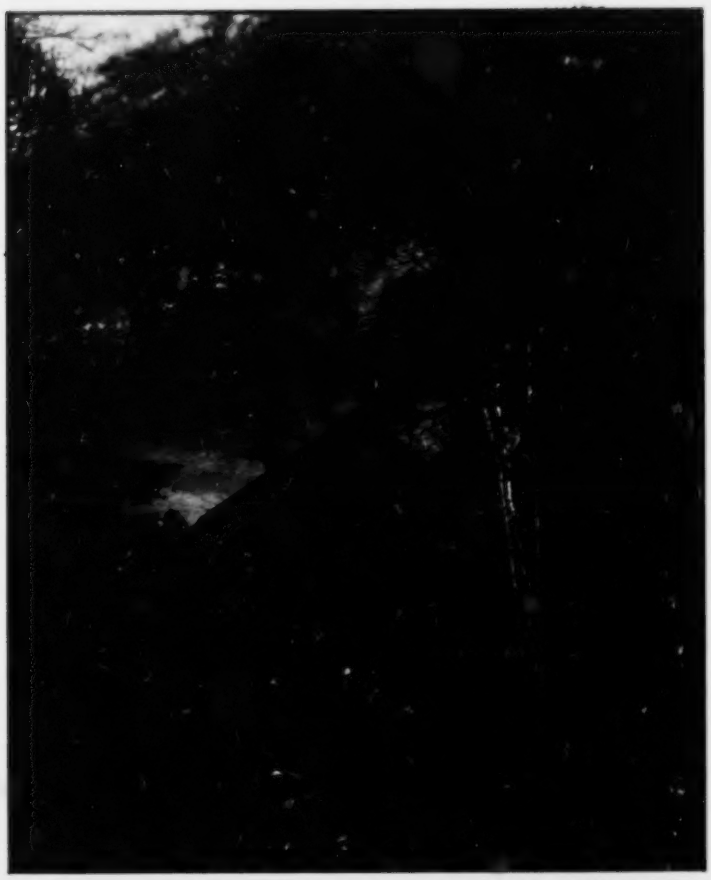

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